THOMAS MASARYK of CZECHOSLOVAKIA

C. J. C. STREET

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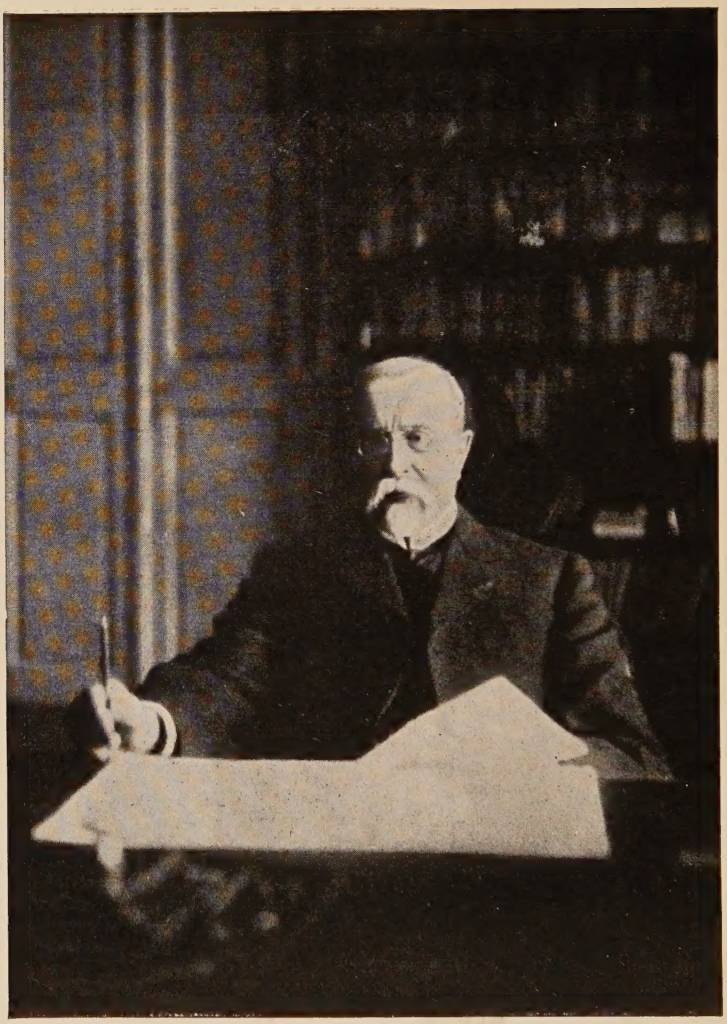

PRESIDENT MASARYK

THOMAS MASARYK

OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By

C. J. C. STREET

With Illustrations

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

The fact that no connected account of the career of President Masaryk exists in the English language has emboldened me to attempt this brief and imperfect sketch, and to publish it on the occasion of the President's eightieth birthday, March 7th, 1930. I have endeavoured to trace the steps by which the son of the coachman in a remote Moravian village became the recognized leader of the whole Czechoslovak people, until, by universal acclamation, he was elected the first President of their recreated State. I have also endeavoured, within the space at my disposal, to convey some idea of his teachings and his philosophy, and of the forces, moral and political, which have guided his life.

I am indebted to so many friends for their assistance and advice that individual acknowledgment is impossible. But I may be allowed to tender my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Karel Čapek, whose *Talks with President Masaryk* (at present available only in the original Czech edition) has been my principal authority for the earlier years of the President's life; to Dr. V. K. Škrach,

who placed the whole of his collection of material dealing with the President unreservedly at my disposal; and finally to the President himself, who, while I was enjoying his hospitality in September, 1929, found time amid his multifarious duties to engage in personal reminiscence.

A complete insight into the President's outlook and character can only be derived from a study of his own writings. Of those available in English the most important are *The Making of a State* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1927), which deals with his activities during the War years, and from which I have quoted extensively in the chapters dealing with that period, and *The New Europe,* of which the English edition has been published for private circulation only. Other works to which I am especially indebted include Dr. Beneš' *My War Memories* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1928), *Bohemia,* by C. E. Maurice (London, Fisher Unwin, 1922), *The Southern Slavs,* by R. W. Seton-Watson (London, Constable, 1911), *Aus T. G. Masaryks Leben,* by Dr. Oskar Donath (Brno, Polygrapia, 1920), and *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics,* by J. Borovička (Prague, Orbis, 1929).

C. J. C. S.

February, 1930

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CHAPTER I

In the little village of Čječ in Moravia there stands the usual inconspicuous blacksmith's shop. Here, in the year 1863, the passer-by might have noticed the blacksmith's apprentice, a lad of thirteen, busily engaged in working the bellows while his master, pincers in hand, turned a half-finished horseshoe in the fire. His face was covered with grime, and flecked here and there with the marks left by flying sparks. But, if he looked up from his work, one could have caught a glimpse of penetrating eyes set deeply beneath an intelligent forehead, and of regular and determined features of attractive cast. The expression was that of a boy interested in the work which lay before him, and determined to make himself master of it.

The lad was Thomas Masaryk. His father, Joseph Masaryk, was a Slovak from Kopčany, employed as coachman and later in other subordinate positions on the Austrian Imperial estates. Joseph Masaryk had never known the advantages of education. His parents had not been able to send him to school, but, in his boyhood, he had managed to learn to read from an old woman, whose potatoes he had dug in return for her

teaching. He had married a Czech girl of German upbringing (through her mother), by name Therese Kropáček, by whom he had four children. The family led a wandering life, settling for various periods upon different portions of the Imperial estates, according to where Joseph Masaryk's services as a coachman happened to be required. In the course of these wanderings, Thomas was born at Hodonín, in Moravia, on March 7th, 1850, as the first child of his parents. The boy's first impressions were naturally bound up with his father's profession. His first childish recollection was of a runaway horse, which knocked down a child and then leapt over it, leaving it unhurt but badly frightened. Beyond that were vague memories of the country; a pond at Mutěnice by which he lived for a short time, or again the wide plains bordered by distant hills.

From the first, Thomas was influenced rather by his mother than by his father. Joseph was a countryman born and bred, loving nature and understanding her, but with no ideas in life beyond the servitude in which he laboured. But his wife had seen more of the world, and was determined that her children, if by any means it could be managed, should rise from the humble station to which they had been born. Before her marriage she had been a cook in a gentleman's house, where

she had displayed such qualities of sound common sense that in later years the members of the family frequently came to her for advice in their various domestic troubles. She resented the grinding burden of poverty and servitude, and all her efforts were directed towards the emancipation of her children. Her determination prevailed with her husband, and the pair agreed that by hook or by crook they would secure for their progeny an education which should give them the chance of rising to better things.

Even in his infancy Thomas showed himself to be a promising subject for such an upbringing. Before he had learnt to write, he used to beg scraps of paper and pencil-ends from the village schoolmaster, with which he was allowed to scribble to his heart's content. From a very early age he began to attend the elementary school at whatever village the family happened to be settled in at the time; first at Hodonín, then at Čejkovice. In those days the village schoolmaster held a position very little different from that of the peasants among whom he lived. He was wretchedly paid, and was forced to eke out his salary by writing letters for those who were unable to do so for themselves, and by seeking any clerking work which would bring him in a few pence. At vintage time his scholars would go round with

a barrel, begging a few litres of the juice from each farmer as he toiled at the wine-press. When they had collected all they could, the barrel was presented to the teacher, who, for lack of a cellar, placed it behind the schoolroom stove for the juice to ferment.

It was under conditions such as these that Thomas first learnt to read and write. Although quick to acquire such scraps of knowledge as his teachers could impart to him, he was by no means an exclusively studious boy. His chief delight was to roam the countryside with his companions, whom he chose from among his older schoolmates. With them he fought and romped, played primitive games, went on furtive hunting expeditions with home-made bow and arrows. He was, in fact, a natural, healthy boy, with a more than average capacity for the reception of ideas, and with an eager thirst for knowledge, not only the knowledge of the schoolroom, but also of the wide world of nature which surrounded him.

At home, religion played an important part in influencing his early years. His mother was a fervent Catholic, with ideas upon religion characteristic of her station in life. She loved going to church, and deeply regretted that the care of her family left her so little time for her devotional exercises. She was in the habit of using her prayer-

book in the intervals of her domestic duties, but she was by no means a slave to her devotion. She believed that loyalty came before religion, should the two ever come into conflict. Joseph Masaryk, like many of the peasant Catholics of his day, obeyed the dictates of his religion because he believed it to be among his duties to do so. He had a wholesome and lively fear of the pains of hell, in which he had been brought up to believe, and his attendance at Mass was for the purpose of insuring against these in the future.

Thomas followed his mother's example. As a child he was deeply religious, with a child's fervent and unquestioning devotion. At the age of ten he acted as server to the priest at Čejkovice, and also sang in the choir, deriving the greatest happiness from these duties. The priest, Father Francis, was a Slovak with little more than a smattering of ecclesiastical education, and a gift of rendering himself unpopular with his superiors, both ecclesiastical and lay. He alternated between fanaticism and indulgence in worldly pleasures. Young Thomas was sorely puzzled by an incident which occurred during the sojourn of the family at Čejokovice. A serious scandal arose concerning Father Francis and the schoolmaster's wife, and on the following Sunday Father Francis preached a sermon in which he said that even a priest was

prone to sin, and that his congregation should mould their lives upon that of Christ and not upon his own. The lesson was, of course, beyond the child's capacity to understand, but the incident marked, perhaps, the birth of his first suspicion that the outward observation of religious forms did not necessarily imply the leading of an honest life.

At this time Thomas, brought up since his birth in the heart of a Catholic community, had no suspicion that any other form of religious faith existed. He was very much concerned to discover, from an article on Russia in an old almanack, that it had a rival in the Orthodox Church. His concern was somewhat relieved by the statement that there were more Catholics in the world than Orthodox Christians, but later he was horrified to learn that there were even more Mohammedans and heathens.

His next discovery in the religious field was that, at a village not far away, there was a congregation of Calvinists. The idea of Protestantism was quite new to him; his teachers had told him nothing of the Reformation, in which the Czechs had played so glorious a part. These Calvinists were heretics, outside the pale of Christianity. And yet people spoke of them with what seemed to the boy a strange respect. They were

admitted to be better educated; more disciplined and thrifty. There was even a local adage, "It lasts like the Calvinist faith." Thomas decided to explore this mystery for himself. Alleging the attractions of a fair which was being held at Klobouky, the place in question, he made an expedition there, and entered the Calvinist Chapel, not without the lively apprehension lest he should be struck down dead for his temerity. But nothing of the sort happened, and the simplicity of the place created an impression which the ceremonial beauty of his own religion could not efface.

Beyond religion lay the world of superstition, encroaching upon every minute of the day and night. Nor were superstitious beliefs, in this remote corner of Central Europe in the middle of the last century, confined only to children. The whole countryside teemed with them; the very priest, though he taught the Catechism of the Church, made no attempt to combat the amazing fancies which enslaved his pupils' minds, perhaps because his own primitive imagination had never been able thoroughly to discard them. Spirits, usually of a malicious nature, existed on every side, curious survivals of Slovak mythology and of the ancient witchcult, which still persists among the ignorant. There were midday witches and twilight witches, the latter especially to be

dreaded if one stayed out playing too late in the fields. A strange and fearsome being named Hastrman ("Waterman"—"Wassermann"), a merman inhabiting the rivers, lived cheek by jowl with the Devil, who was ever present to the minds of the devout. He of course, was a thoroughly orthodox character; the much-edified congregation assembled in the church at Čejkovice had visible evidence of his presence when a man fell into an epileptic fit during Mass. And, hovering on the fringe of every community, hated, despised and yet feared, were the Jews, always on the look out for the opportunity of kidnapping a Christian child, that they might drain its blood for use in their infernal rites. Young Thomas was always careful to follow some devious route rather than pass the house in which a Jew lived.

Perhaps because of the influence of his mother, who had known better conditions, Thomas deeply resented his father's position. In his boyhood the employees on the Emperor's estates were still actually serfs, to be treated as dirt beneath the feet of their masters. There was no possibility of any friendliness or understanding between master and man; Joseph Masaryk and his fellows worked like dumb animals, without pleasure in the tasks they were bound to perform. The estate

MASARYK'S PARENTS

overseers treated them like cattle, and Thomas, seeing this, conceived a violent hatred for all those placed in authority. Sometimes the members of a shooting party would leave their fur coats at his father's cottage, and the child longed to fall upon these and destroy them, failing an opportunity of venting his rage on their owners. He never forgot the scenes which accompanied the shooting lunches, when the servants threw the fragments of the feast to the villagers, who fought over them like wild beasts.

Naturally, the village communities among which Thomas lived knew little or nothing of the outer world. The boy was dimly conscious of his Slovak origin, although his mother, having visited German schools and lived in German families, read and wrote German rather than Czech, and taught it to her children. In this he was encouraged by his paternal grandmother, who used to bring him presents of the traditional white Slovak trousers. But Slovakia as a country had then no existence for him. The centre of the universe was Vienna, an almost mythical city of which strange tales were told. Prague was far away, a city of legend which formed the background of books of adventure for children. To childish eyes the larger villages were cities, Hodonín especially, since it possessed a church spire. But,

during Thomas' childhood, visits to such places were rare. Only sometimes, on fair days, was it possible to get a taste of their magnificence.

Village life was primitive in the extreme. At the first sign of spring the children discarded the boots which they had worn under protest all the winter, and scampered barefooted over the ground, still ice-bound in places. The festivals of the Church marked their year. At Easter they paraded the village singing songs, for which they hoped to be rewarded by one of the coloured eggs which the housewives had prepared. In May were processions round the fields, headed by the priest, invoking a blessing on the newly sown crops. Later was harvest, when the fruits of the earth were gathered and customs whose origins were lost in the mists of antiquity were observed. Last of all came Christmas, the feast of children in the Moravian villages as elsewhere.

Thomas entered with enthusiasm into every childish sport. But, at the same time, he had occupations of his own. The rudiments of geography and history, expounded at school by the uncouth teacher, whose principal attributes as a pedagogue were the hard and hairy hands with which he corrected his pupils, caught his fancy. He managed to get hold of a history of Bohemia and Hungary, and also of a tattered atlas, by

the help of which he compiled a list of Austrian towns, which he committed to memory. On the whole, he showed considerable aptitude at his elementary school at Čejkovice, so much so that a visiting inspector persuaded his mother to allow him to continue his education with the ultimate idea that he should become a teacher.

This suggestion fell in with his mother's views for the future of her children. As a teacher, her son would be at least one step removed from servitude. But how was the end to be accomplished? In the state of grinding poverty to which the family was condemned, it was necessary that the children should contribute to its support at the earliest possible moment. Thomas was now ten, and, if he were to study to become a teacher, many years of unremunerative schooling lay before him. Nevertheless his mother, intent upon the boy's future, determined that it should be managed somehow. But there was still an obstacle in the way. The Emperor's serfs were compelled to seek permission for their children to indulge in the luxury of secondary education. Joseph Masaryk was induced to make the request, which was only grudgingly granted, labourers being more valuable in the eyes of the Imperial overseers than teachers. At last, at the age of eleven, Thomas was sent to a secondary school at Hus-

topeč, which was administered by the Piarist Fathers.

At Hustopeč all instruction was carried out in German, which caused Thomas no serious inconvenience. It involved, however, a good deal of memorizing on his part, which probably laid the foundation of his wonderful memory. But, from the first, the worthy Fathers must have been puzzled by their young Slovak pupil. His old schoolmaster of Čejkovice, proud of the fact that one of his boys should have been allowed to go on to such an exalted seminary, had offered to give him a parting present, which he might select for himself. Thomas asked for one particular book, which dealt, of all extraordinary subjects for a boy to choose, with Lavater's theory of physiognomy, and the judgment of character by the shape and measurements of the skull. This book Thomas practically learnt by heart. He then proceeded to test the efficacy of the theories it contained by experimenting upon his schoolmates, who, though interested at first in this new game, soon began to avoid him as rather an eccentric character. The clothes in which he turned up for his first term did not tend to increase his popularity. A suit had been made for him out of one of his father's old coachman's livery, which was blue with brass buttons. Not unnaturally,

Thomas' appearance was greeted with considerable hilarity.

At Hustopeč he lived with his aunt, who, in order to compensate for the expense of his board and lodging, sent one of her own children to take his place in the family at Čejkovice. In spite of the attitude of his schoolfellows, he was happy in his new surroundings. One of the Fathers at the High School particularly appealed to him. He was a Czech from Bohemia, a young and handsome man, whose appearance in the stately habit of his Order was greatly admired by the young ladies of Hustopeč. This man, by name Vašatý, seems to have taken notice of young Thomas, and to have discussed with him all manner of subjects, far above the child's head, but which nevertheless he remembered and understood in later years.

At this time neither Thomas nor his parents had any very definite ideas as to his future. He was nominally studying with a view to adopting the teaching profession, but it seemed unlikely that the long period of tuition could be afforded. The boy himself had no particular leanings in that direction. Like most boys of his age, he changed his ideas as often as he saw a calling which captured his imagination for the moment. An itinerant tailor would visit the house to make

the family's clothes—young Thomas immediately decided that he would become a tailor. Among a crowd of his fellows he would stand at the door of the blacksmith's shop, watching the flying sparks, the glowing iron as it took shape under the deft strokes of the hammer—this was surely the ideal occupation for a strong man! But, in spite of these fleeting fancies, it was gradually brought home to him that, in his state of life, the future of the boy was decided not so much by the aptitude he displayed or by his own wishes, as by the opportunities which offered themselves.

Most boys are at some period of their lives attracted by mechanics, and Thomas was no exception to this rule. At Hustopeč he was introduced to the elements of the science, and he displayed considerable interest in the subject. His inquiring mind began to discover why things happened; he found many links between the theories he was taught and the common phenomena of daily life. His outlook became broadened, and he applied himself to his studies with greater zest than he had shown in the not-very-inspiring atmosphere of the elementary school. Perhaps he would become an engineer.

Curiously enough, in spite of the deeply religious strain running through Thomas' mind, he never entertained the idea of entering the Church.

Even at a very early age, he had not been content to regard religion as a mere matter of faith and duty. The teachings of religion were to him matters for speculation, in just the same way as the other subjects which were set before him to learn. It puzzled him that in this direction he met with no encouragement, that both at home and at school he was discouraged from meditating upon the principles of his religion. In spite of this, he plagued his old friend Father Francis with questions, only to receive the answer that these things were holy mysteries, to be accepted in humble faith and without reserve. Only to those who could thus accept all the tenets of the Church lay open the path that led to the priesthood.

It was while Thomas was at Hustopeč that an incident occurred which made a deep impression upon him, an impression of which the results were to persist throughout his whole life. The boys had gone on an excursion to a village among the neighbouring hills, and while they were romping about and amusing themselves after their meal at the local inn, one of them, a Jew, slipped away from his companions. Thomas, inquisitive on the subject of Jews, and their habits, followed him, and, to his amazement, found him kneeling on the ground, praying with his face to the wall.

So unusual a sight naturally attracted the at-

tention of the rest, who assembled to jeer at him. But Thomas sprang immediately to his defence. The religious observance of the Jew had appealed to his own devout nature. It seemed to him in some way a reflection upon his own faith that this despised Jew should, knowing full well the ridicule that he would draw upon himself, withdraw from the noisy fun of the party to go and pray silently and alone. There must, after all, be some virtue in the execrated Jewish faith. From that moment, although he could never entirely overcome his inborn aversion to the Jews, encouraged in him from his earliest childhood, he always strove to judge them fairly. In later years he was to be accused of unduly favouring the persecuted race.

Thomas completed his first two years at the High School with considerable success. But then the problem, already foreseen, presented itself for immediate solution. If he were to become a teacher, it would be necessary for him to go on to a training college. But here the age of admission was sixteen, and Thomas was as yet barely thirteen. What was to be done with him in the meanwhile? He could not possibly be kept for three years in idleness. Upon the advice of his former masters, his father decided to abandon the idea of making him a teacher in favour of appren-

ticing him to a trade. He had already displayed an interest in the blacksmith's shop. An opportunity occurred of indenturing him to a tradesman in Vienna, in whose family his mother had once been a servant. This man described himself by the high-sounding title of an Art Metal Worker, but, as a matter of fact, he was little more than a locksmith, engaged upon repetition work.

Thomas was accordingly sent to Vienna, where his new master set him to work to mind a machine which turned out iron heel-plates for boots. At first he found this great fun. All he had to do was to pick up a piece of iron, place it in the machine, pull a lever, and out fell the completed heel-plate. But very soon the deadly monotony of the process proved more than he could bear. He began to loathe the work and its environment; a country-bred boy, he found, after the first excitement had subsided, little to attract him in a city like Vienna. To add to his discontent, his fellow-apprentices stole all his beloved books with which he spent his spare time. He was particularly distressed by the loss of his atlas, by the aid of which he loved to undertake nightly journeys throughout the world. After six weeks in Vienna he ran away from his employer and returned home.

By this time the family had moved to Čejč. Joseph Masaryk, anxious to keep this wayward son of his under his own eyes, approached his neighbour, the estate blacksmith, and persuaded him to accept the boy as his apprentice. The fascination of the blacksmith's shop retained its potency. Thomas took to the trade at once, and derived a boyish delight from the work, in spite of the long hours and the discipline to which he was subjected. During the summer, when agricultural activity in the villages was at its height, it was not uncommon for the smiths to work from three in the morning until ten or eleven at night, shoeing horses and repairing ploughs. In those days the trade was very rigidly organized. The master smith was a despot, wielding an absolute power over his assistants. His journeymen had certain minor rights, varying with the length of their service. But the apprentice had no rights at all. He was kept in strict subjection, and could only venture to smoke or to speak to a girl at the risk of kicks and cuffs from his superiors.

Since he took an interest in his trade, Thomas soon became an expert in it. Some years later, when he was studying at Brno, he surprised a blacksmith in one of the neighbouring villages by his ability to forge a nail at one heating of the iron. And in the course of acquiring this skill,

he acquired the characteristics of one who toils with his hands. Twenty-four years afterwards, when he met Tolstoy, that acute observer looked at his hands and asked him whether he had ever been a workman.

Thomas might have remained at the forge until, after a long period of probation, he graduated as a master smith. It was only by accident that his energies were turned in another direction. One day, smoke-blackened and dishevelled, he was carrying buckets of water from the well to the forge, when a passer-by stopped and looked earnestly into his face. Thomas recognized the man at once. He was the master who had taught him the piano at the High School at Hustopeč. Seeing the astonishment in the man's face, and ashamed at being discovered performing such menial duties, Thomas dropped his buckets and ran away. But it was too late. He had been recognized, and when he reached home that evening he was informed that Professor Ludwig had been there, and that it had been arranged that Thomas was to go, in the capacity of pupil-teacher, to assist his father, who had a school of his own at Čejkovice.

It was a momentous decision, for it meant that Thomas was once more diverted from manual labour towards a scholarly profession. Although even while he was with the blacksmith he had

continued his studies as best he could, he could never, by his own unaided efforts, have progressed very far along the path of learning. From now on he had slightly improved opportunities of acquiring knowledge. Not that his duties at Ludwig's school were far removed from drudgery. He helped in the teaching as best he could, and in return was allowed to pick up such scraps of information as fell in his way. There was no question of salary; the finances of the school would not allow the employment of a paid teacher. But his old friend Father Francis was still at Čejkovice, and through his influence Thomas was put in the way of earning a few pence by playing the organ in church and singing at funerals. In the performance of the latter duty, his pronunciation of the Latin sentences offended even the not overfastidious ear of Father Francis, who was at last induced to teach him a smattering of Church Latin. In addition to this Thomas unearthed a dog-eared Latin dictionary, from which he memorized a number of words. It was by such means as these that he added to his stock of learning during the two years which he spent as a pupil-teacher at Čejkovice.

He was still an ardent Catholic. During his explorations of the old castle of Čejkovice he came across some seventeenth and eighteenth

century books, left there by the Jesuits, containing refutations of the teachings of Luther and polemics against Protestantism in general. These books were written in German, interspersed with Latin quotations upon which Thomas exercised his budding knowledge of that tongue. He devoured them with avidity, and was so impressed by what he read that he conceived an ardent desire to become a missionary himself. Material for his first venture in this direction lay close at hand. The wife of the blacksmith for whom he had worked at Čejč was a German, a Protestant from birth. Young Thomas, burning to convince her of the error of her ways, bombarded her with the arguments he had gleaned from the works of the Jesuit Fathers, until at last he persuaded her to abandon her heresy and enter the Catholic Church. This, it must be admitted, was a remarkable achievement for a boy of fourteen.

Yet, notwithstanding his religious fervour, it was while he was teaching at Čejkovice that he first came into contact with the precepts of the Church. The Piarist Fathers at Hustopeč had been sufficiently enlightened to teach him that the earth revolves round the sun. This piece of information he passed on to his pupils, who repeated it to their horrified mothers. Like a modern Galileo, Thomas was in danger of falling under the ban of

the Church. The parents of his pupils, after scandalized discussion among themselves, sent a deputation to the priest, complaining that the young teacher was leading their children astray and instilling into them devilish theories altogether contrary to the Scriptures. It required the exercise of all Father Francis' tact to reassure them.

Some days later occurred the annual fair at Čejkovice, when all the neighbouring farmers flocked to the village. Young Thomas was appalled when a party of them entered the school and demanded to see him. He expected a violent scene, but he was determined not to yield upon the point at issue. However, things turned out differently from his anticipations. The farmers, it seemed, were less bigoted than their wives. They told him that his teaching was perfectly satisfactory, and that he was not to take any notice of a pack of old women. Finally, as a testimonial to his efforts, they each presented him with two or three "Kreutzers"—a regular windfall for a boy in his situation.

But, even with the aid of such fortuitous assistance, Thomas found that it would be impossible for him to support himself as an unpaid teacher until he could enter the training college. The idea of his holding out till he was sixteen was aban-

doned, but, since he had shown considerable application in his studies, he was to be allowed to continue them, at least for the present. During the school holidays of the year 1865 he sat for a qualifying examination at the Piarist High School at Strážnice, and passed it well. This success secured him admission to the lowest class at the German Grammar School of Brno, the capital of Moravia.

CHAPTER II

Masaryk spent four years at the Grammar School of Brno, from the autumn of 1865 to that of 1869. During these years, perhaps the most impressionable in a boy's life, he had to support himself, and for a part of the period his brother as well, in addition to pursuing his studies. His mother managed to send him a few florions from time to time, but that was all the assistance he could expect to receive. For the rest he had to depend upon his own resources.

He lived at first in the house of a shoemaker in the Nová Ulice, together with half a dozen other students as poor as himself. For their lodging, laundry and breakfast the boys each paid two gulden, or about three shillings, per month. As may be imagined, conditions at the shoemaker's were not luxurious, but the boy and his companions contrived to enjoy themselves in their own way. The provision of supper was a perpetual difficulty confronting their empty pockets. When funds would run to supper at all, it consisted of bread, cheese and a pint of beer, for which they paid a penny half-penny a head at a local students' restaurant.

But even to support this style of living it was necessary for Masaryk to earn money somehow. He began by giving lessons to the son of a railway official, in return for two gulden a month, which just covered his living expenses, and his dinner on Sundays in addition. Though in his chronic state of hunger he could have eaten three such dinners as were provided under the bond, he liked the family and got on very well with them. Some time later he had a great stroke of luck. Having reached the top of his class, he was recommended by his tutor to the Chief of Police in Brno, Le Monnier by name, who required a companion for his son, also a student at the Grammar School. Seeing that the boys got on very well together, Le Monnier employed young Masaryk to assist his more backward son in his studies, and, taking an interest in him, lent him books and assisted him financially. Masaryk had his meals every day with the Le Monniers, and from that time things became very much easier for him.

Books were still his passion. Naturally, in a town of the size of Brno, there were far greater facilities for reading than there had ever been in the villages among which Masaryk's life had hitherto been spent. At the Grammar School the available material consisted mainly of Catholic literature, either original German works or trans-

lations into German from other languages. Among the latter was Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola,* which made a great impression upon him. The Catholic faith still appeared to him to be the only possible harbour in which the soul of man could find content. He admired it as a living organization, as a universal Church covering the whole world. He was not yet awakened to its defects, nor was he old enough to have experienced the limitations which it seeks to impose upon the scientific mind.

But, as time went on and Masaryk's studies widened the sphere of his knowledge, his outlook upon religion began to undergo a gradual change. He found himself in an age when the spirit of liberalism was beginning to develop, and to prepare itself for its struggle against political and ecclesiastical absolutism. Further, he began to be conscious of his Czechoslovak nationality. Hitherto, questions of nationality had not troubled him. He had early in life known a sort of parochial *esprit de corps,* as when, at Čejkovice, the boys of the village used to engage in juvenile battles with those of the sister parish, to decide who should have the honour of ringing the bells of the common church. At Brno he found himself thrust into just such another scene of rivalry, but in this case the parties were divided

by an embryonic sense of nationality. The school was attended by both German and Czech students, organized into separate and distinct parties, each of which had a legitimate pride in its own nation. Masaryk became one of the most enthusiastic partisans of his own section, and this naturally led him towards the study of Czech history. There were scarcely any Czech books available at Brno, but, from the very few which came his way, he learnt enough of the Reformation, of national heroes such as Žižka, of the long struggle between the Czechs and the Germans, to derive a great inspiration from what he read. Henceforth he was a Czechoslovak by instinct as well as by birth. And, from the same period, he realized that Catholicism had been the force which had lain behind the final crushing of Czech liberty.

There was yet another factor which tended to disturb the simple faith of his boyhood. At Brno the religious instructor was a certain Father Procházka, who had allowed the principles of liberalism to colour his conceptions of religion. Through his teachings Masaryk was first introduced to the conception of Socialism, as opposed to the feudalism in which he had been born. He heard, among his fellow students who attended Father Procházka's lectures, much criticism of

the alleged authority of the Church, and he began to be initiated into the theory of liberty of conscience. To the lad, brought up under the influence of his mother and of Father Francis, a new horizon was thus opened. Further, his instructors drew his attention to the writings of contemporary anti-Catholic authors by entering into controversy with them. It can hardly be wondered at that under these circumstances the boy developed a critical attitude towards religion, which became more definite as he grew older, and came to a head towards the end of his residence at Brno. As it turned out, this attitude was to be a contributory cause of his departure from the Grammar School.

The crisis arose over the subject of Confession. Hitherto, Masaryk had gone to Confession without troubling his head much about the moral principles involved. But, at Brno, as his mind expanded and began to seek for the inner meaning of things up till then accepted without question, he found Confession becoming more and more a burden upon his conscience. His fellows boasted of their adroit achievements in the confessional, of the clever way in which they had presented their own particular faults so as to incur the minimum of penance. But Masaryk had already a passionate devotion to absolute and unequivocal

truth. This form of juggling with one's conscience was not for him. He had no aversion to the act of confession in itself; he felt the comfort which follows the emptying of one's heart before an understanding friend. But Confession as a Sacrament, if genuinely performed, conflicted with his own rigid theory of justice. It seemed to him that confession of any kind, if it were to be of value, involved the undertaking that a fault once confessed should not be committed again. The mechanical process of going to the priest day after day and receiving absolution for a recurring fault which had already been wiped away a dozen times seemed to him too easy a process for him to be able to put any faith in it. It was not credible that sin and its consequences should be averted with so little moral effort. A deeper repentance than this was necessary if the soul were to be truly purged. In the end, he announced to Father Procházka that he could no longer go to Confession, since he could not bring himself to believe in its efficacy.

Procházka, who, in spite of his Socialist leanings, was at heart a sincere and convinced Catholic, was not unnaturally horrified at this infidelity. Masaryk was one of his favourite pupils, and he did his best to convince him of the falsity of his outlook. But, in spite of all his argu-

ments, Masaryk persisted in his determination not to go to Confession, and finally Procházka had no alternative but to report him to the Director of the school. The Director, who already had experience of his pupil's precocious obstinacy on more than one point, took a different line with him. He put the matter before him from the point of view of expediency rather than of dogma. He did not insist upon the purely spiritual aspect of Confession, but explained that it was a rule of the Church to which he belonged. Such rules must be accepted at their face value, and observed in the same way as any other rules laid down for disciplinary guidance. The Director, hoping to appeal to Masaryk's sense of the fitness of things, went on to admit that his own position was very similar to that of his pupil. He himself did not implicitly believe in the virtue of Confession, but his position forced him to set a good example, even though his actions ran counter to his own private convictions. To which Masaryk merely replied that a man who acts against the dictates of his conscience was a moral coward.

This was merely one source of conflict between Masaryk and the school authorities at Brno. He was by no means a rebel for the mere sake of rebellion; indeed, he was eager to learn from anybody who showed themselves competent to teach

MASARYK AT THE AGE OF THIRTEEN

him. But, although intellectually humble, he was extremely highspirited, and intolerant of any incompetence or petty tyranny. It was, no doubt, the reaction to servitude, to the thousand affronts which he had seen offered to his parents, by men no better than themselves. This intolerance displayed itself in many acts of boyish indiscipline. When Masaryk first attended the classes at Brno, the Head Master was a Czech, a good enough scholar—he had compiled a Latin dictionary—but utterly lacking in the qualities necessary to control a mob of unruly boys. This unfortunate man was compelled to augment his miserable salary by making dyes in his spare time, and he excited the derision of his pupils by appearing in the lecture-room stained with all manner of vivid hues. Further, since Czech was not a compulsory subject, little attention was paid to his lectures on that language, and his class was usually in a state of pandemonium, to which young Masaryk contributed his full quota.

He was succeeded by a German, who immediately instituted a rigidly Teutonic régime. The lengths to which his Germanism extended infuriated Masaryk, who was already inspired with the first fervour of Czech patriotism. It was not sufficient that the Czech assistant masters should be compelled to write their names in the German

fashion—for instance, Stanêk had to become Staniek—but even the dead languages must be made to serve their German master. But Masaryk was equal to this fresh aggression of German culture. To the injunction that he was in future to pronounce *Zeus* as *Tsoys,* he retaliated by insisting upon pronouncing Latin words as though they were Czech—*enim* as *enyim,* for instance, justifying his behaviour by the remark that his error was no more flagrant than his preceptor's.

Conduct such as this hardly tended to make Masaryk popular with his tutors. But, romantically enough, it was a youthful love affair which brought matters to a head, and resulted in his virtual expulsion from the Grammar School. He was lodging at the time in the Franzosiche Strasse, and fell in love with his landlady's sister-in-law, a girl of about his own age. Under the influence of this tender passion he began to write poetry, and also set to work upon a novel, which was to be the expression of his romantic feelings. Unfortunately, neither poetry nor the novel found favour among the select audience of his schoolfellows to whom he insisted upon reading passages. Like many another youthful author, he became discouraged by the unfavourable opinions

of his critics, and flung his manuscripts into the fire.

Masaryk, in his own opinion, was at that time a man of substance. He was earning just enough to keep himself and his brother from want. But the girl's parents could not be induced to regard his prospects as favourably as he did himself. They disapproved of their daughter's infatuation for this young student, without expectations, and already notorious for his quarrels with the teaching staff. The two were obliged to meet clandestinely, but at last the affair reached the ears of the Director, with whom Masaryk had already had more than one passage of arms. The Director sent for him and made some disparaging remarks, at which Masaryk completely lost his temper. The school porter was sent for to remove the indignant youth, who thereupon picked up a poker and threatened to maintain the honesty of his intentions by main force. After this scene there was very little alternative before the authorities but to forbid his further attendance on the premises.

It was during Masaryk's residence at Brno that the Seven Weeks War took place, bringing with it the opportunity of adventure. At the outbreak of the war the Czech students at Brno considered the rights and wrongs of the situation

with youthful seriousness, and in the end decided that they would form themselves into a band of volunteers to fight the Prussians—without, apparently, committing themselves to actual support of the Austrians, whom they were already beginning to regard as their oppressors. The only tangible result of this romantic decision was that one of the older boys was actually accepted for the Austrian army. A few days later the schools were closed owing to the Prussian invasion of Bohemia, and Masaryk, penniless as usual, was compelled to trudge all the way home to Čejč on foot. After the battle of Hradec Králové (Königgratz) the Austrians retreated across Moravia, with the Prussians in hot pursuit. All sorts of stories were told of the brutality of the latter, and the villagers were terror-stricken. Masaryk, in order to divert the Prussians from Čejč, wrote the words "Cholera here" on the wall of the first house in the village on the route of the pursuit.

But, although for the moment the Prussians avoided the village, Masaryk was destined to get a closer view of the fighting. Rumour had it that the Prussians kidnapped all the boys they came across and forced them into the service of their army. Masaryk decided that it would be better to volunteer for the Austrian army than to risk this, and he prevailed upon a friend of his of about his

own age to accompany him. An Austrian column happened to be retreating in the neighbourhood of Čejč, and the officer in command, requiring guides, took the two boys with him. They tried to persuade the officer to enroll them, but he refused, on the score that they were too young and that the war was nearly over. They were, however, allowed to accompany the troops in the capacity of guides.

But the Prussians were close on their heels. The detachment was overtaken at Holič, and a rearguard action took place. Masaryk and his friend, together with two other boys from Holič, took up a position in the cemetery, which lay on a hill and commanded an excellent view of the skirmish. In the course of the fighting the Austrian officer who had befriended the boys was wounded, and Masaryk and his friends were enabled to bind up his wounds. In the course of drawing water for this purpose Masaryk severely damaged his knee, and was unable to follow the retreating Austrians on foot. He was, however, given a seat on a wagon, and in this way accompanied the troops to Bratislava. The conclusion of peace shortly afterwards put an end to this military adventure.

Although Masaryk undoubtedly left the Grammar School at Brno under a cloud, he had

already displayed what was to become the leading characteristic of his life: a passion for truth and a relentless determination to fight to the bitter end in defence of it. He had shown himself to be a fighter by nature. He was not content with a mere passive resistance in defence of his own views, but was prepared to attack, regardless of the consequences, any falsity of thought or of action, whether these directly concerned himself or not. He was sharply differentiated from his fellows in refusing to rest content with a pedantic curriculum. He knew instinctively, even at the age of nineteen, that the ordinary learning of the schools would lead him nowhere. He felt, as most intelligent youths of his age are bound to do, that it lay within his powers to make a future for himself. What that future might be, he had as yet no idea. But he knew that if he were to attain to it hard work was a necessity, not only in acquiring the dry and often unfertile facts of the lecture-room, but in studying the great field of human knowledge which lay beyond them. To Masaryk it became necessary to understand the forces which move the world and the peoples inhabiting it.

He had as yet taken little interest in what had already become known as the Czech Movement, but which was then little more than a move in the

game of Austrian politics. However, he had become conscious of his Czech nationality. The rivalry between Czech and German at Brno had borne its fruit. He saw himself as a member of a small nationality, which in the eyes of foreign nations had well-nigh lost its identity. Yet he knew, from a study of the history of that nationality, that it contained the elements, cultural and moral, which justified its independent existence. Fighter as he was, he felt himself summoned to the lists in defence of Czech nationality. This, though perhaps at first it was nothing more than a chivalrous dream of youth, later became the chief obsession of his life. The opportunity of acting effectively could not be his for many years to come, as he well knew. A long period of preparation for the fray stretched before him, during which he must support himself and his visions as best he could.

Masaryk had already sufficient experience of the world to know that if the Czechs were to retain their nationality, if they were to be saved from final absorption into the mass of Germans which surrounded them, it must be by the exercise of the arts of peace and by hard work. He was later to put this thought into words. "Not by violence, but by peaceful effort; not by the sword, but by the ploughshare; not by blood, but by

work; not by death, but by life and the striving for life—this is the reply of the Czech genius, this is the lesson of our history and the testament of our great ancestors." It was in this sense that Masaryk was slowly to evolve his conception of Czech culture and civilization as opposed to German. German philosophers had preached the achievement of German supremacy by force of arms, had tended to deny the virtue of anything but the worship of brute force as a means towards the triumph of German culture. To these ideas Masaryk was to oppose the ideals of truth and of hard work in the domains of peace. He recognized that the warlike method was the easier, since it involved less mental preparation. But for a small nation, even if it were in conformity with the spirit of its people and the traditions of its history, the adoption of the warlike method could lead only to disaster and extinction.

It is not suggested that Masaryk, at the age of nineteen, saw these things in all their native clarity. But his stormy boyhood had led him to a dim perception of the contrast between Czech and German culture, of the wide gulf which existed between the conditions in which he was condemned to live and the sentiments of liberty with which he was mysteriously endowed. He, the son of a coachman, the descendant of a race of serfs,

had in some obscure way escaped the deadening legacy of several generations of servitude, and had inherited the passionate love of freedom which had inspired the Czechs of the sixteenth century. And, from his earliest boyhood, it is possible to trace the inspiration of the irresistible force of this love even in his most rebellious actions.

It is impossible—and unnecessary—to conjecture what would have become of him had he remained in the blacksmith's shop at Čejč. In the exercise of a manual art he had for the moment found an outlet for his energies; the forge required the employment of strength and dexterity, it was an occupation in which there was no time for wasted words. The smith was the master of the hard and unyielding material in which he worked; in the moulding of the iron to his will young Masaryk had found a certain grim satisfaction. Perhaps we may see, in the boy toiling at the anvil, the prototype of the man whose stength and determination were to make him the leader of his people. But his environment at Brno soon proved to Masaryk that he could find no lasting pleasure in mere mechanical ability. His labour in the future must be the forging of his own mind on the anvil of human experience.

Yet, in spite of the ardent spirit which inspired

him, it seemed, after his final dismissal from Brno, that he was destined to failure. He had, it is true, done well in his studies, and had acquired besides, by his own efforts, a wealth of practical knowledge beyond the narrow orbit of the schoolroom. But of what use could these assets be to a boy of nineteen with a reputation for intractability and insubordination? He could not afford to wait until some opportunity of employing his knowledge presented itself. His first and most pressing need was to find some method of keeping himself literally from starvation. Nor could he, even at the price of sacrificing his own inclinations, seek support by any form of skilled labour. He had learnt no trade, and he was past the age of apprenticeship. It seemed that the only course which lay open to him was to return to his father, a son prodigal of his opportunities, and there seek a precarious livelihood as a tiller of the soil.

But fortunately at this critical moment his friends did not desert him. Le Monnier, the Chief of Police, seems to have discerned his true qualities beneath his high-spirited defiance of authority. He had found the youth whom he had chosen to be his son's companion to be an earnest student at heart, possessed, in spite of his faults, of an avid eagerness to learn. He had seen enough

of him to know his love for truth, and his contemptuous scorn of evil, in whatever form it might present itself. It is unlikely that Le Monnier could have induced the authorities at Brno to readmit his protégé and to permit him to complete his studies at the Grammar School. But, by a fortunate coincidence, he was transferred from Brno to Vienna very shortly after Masaryk's disgrace. He determined that his son should complete his studies at the capital of Austria, and he had no difficulty in persuading Masaryk to accompany him.

Through Le Monnier's influence and with his assistance he was installed in the sixth form of the "Akademisches Gymnasium" (Grammar School) at Vienna, in company with his friend. He was fortunate in finding himself in the midst of a brilliant coterie. Many of the members of his class subsequently distinguished themselves by the high positions to which they attained, and they already displayed talents which acted as a strop to Masaryk's keen intellect. In Vienna he found himself confronted by a wider outlook, a less parochial environment than he had yet known. He was in the capital city of the Monarchy, and from that position he could observe at close quarters the inner life of the State of which he was a member. He was destined to remain in

Vienna, with occasional intervals, for the next thirteen years.

But in Vienna, as in Brno, he did not earn the wholehearted approval of his tutors, who regarded him only as a mediocre student, in no way up to the standard of his more brilliant fellows. The reason for this lack of appreciation was that Masaryk refused to be bound by the official curriculum, or to specialize upon any one branch of knowledge. In the atmosphere of Vienna the omnivorous thirst for knowledge which he had already displayed at Brno grew to a disproportionate extent. He promised to become, in the intellectual sphere, a jack-of-all-trades and a master of none, a man who seeks universal knowledge at the expense of concentration upon one thing at a time. Impatient of guidance, or perhaps sceptical of the competence of his Viennese professors to lead his mind in the paths which he had mapped out for it, he delved for himself into the mass of information stored in the Court and University libraries, selecting such lines of study as seemed to him worthy of his attention. With his habitual contempt for the rigid instruction of the class-room, he allowed the time devoted to this pursuit to encroach upon the hours when he should have been attending lectures. But it was beneath him to adduce any of the stock excuses

for his non-attendance. Truth must prevail, even over the conventional formulæ by which his absences might have been palliated. He merely explained that he had been unavoidably detained elsewhere, and with this pretext his tutors were forced to be content.

His favourite reading at this period was to be found in the classics. The great works of the Greek and Latin authors he read in the original and in unabridged versions. The school texts failed to satisfy him; if a subject was worth studying at all it was worth studying thoroughly. He also cultivated a distinguished German style, and it was in this respect that his tutors found him in any way exemplary. That he should devote himself with such earnestness to the German language may seem to be a contradiction of his steadily developing Czech consciousness. But, in fact, it was not so. The Czech language had practically fallen into disuse as a literary tongue, although it was still employed colloquially and among the poorer and more illiterate classes. If he were ever to appeal to the educated world, it would be necessary for him to do so in the German tongue, which was current throughout Bohemia and Moravia. It could not be foreseen that his influence was later to be one of the most powerful factors in enabling the Czech people to follow the

progress of modern thought in their own language.

But, if he concentrated upon German as his language of expression, he was determined to seek among books written in other languages for his inspiration. As a Slav, he naturally turned in the first place to Slav sources, and of these the most important were Russian. To this language, allied to his own native tongue, he applied himself with so much fervour that he soon acquired a knowledge of it sufficient, not only for his own studies, but to enable him to add to his resources by teaching it. It is in this early study of the Russian writers that may be traced the foundation of that intimate knowledge of Russia which was to play so decisive a part at the crisis of his country's existence.

A knowledge of Russian alone was not sufficient to satisfy him. Even before his matriculation he was attracted to the study of philosophy, and sought to read the works of the most eminent philosophers in the original. He therefore applied himself to English—a far more difficult subject than Russian for a Czech—and soon became sufficiently proficient to read the works of the leading English authors in the original.

It was while Masaryk was at the Academy that his religious outlook underwent a further change.

In Vienna he found himself in a more liberal atmosphere than he had hitherto experienced. He was more than ever stimulated to think for himself, and to question the blind obedience demanded by the Catholic Church. The announcement of the dogma of Infallibility by Pius IX in 1870 seemed to him to constitute a claim too extravagant for a reasoning man to accept. After much searching of heart he informed his religious directors that he could not subscribe to the new doctrine, and must therefore cease to be a member of the Catholic Church. This he did, though without going further than to announce his adhesion to the Uniate faith.

Masaryk matriculated in July, 1872, achieving considerable success in his examination. He was now twenty-two, and from this moment he began to play a part, at first unimportant, in the destiny of his country.

CHAPTER III

In order to understand the part which Masaryk was about to play, it is necessary to glance briefly at the position of Bohemia within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the commencement of his career, and so to grasp the essentials of what had by then become known as the Czech Question.

Bohemia, which had since the earliest times preserved her existence as an independent or semi-independent State, having freely elected Ferdinand Habsburg for King, 1525, was incorporated in the Habsburg dominions as a result of the Battle of the White Mountain, on November 8th, 1620. This battle was the culminating incident of the campaign waged by the Emperor Ferdinand II against Frederick, Elector Palatine, who had been elected King of Bohemia during the previous year. It was, in every sense of the word decisive. Frederick fled from the country and his troops laid down their arms. The nation, torn by internal dissension and wearied by a long and hopeless struggle for independence, lay at the feet of the conqueror.

From this moment Bohemian liberty, both political and religious, was at an end. Ferdinand

was not so much a tyrant as a bigot. Protestantism, which had flourished in Bohemia since the days of Hus and the Reformation, was to him a damnable heresy which it was the duty of a Catholic sovereign to extirpate. Ferdinand's pretext in his campaign against Bohemia had been the suppression of rebellion, the recovery of a kingdom in revolt against its liege lord. It was certainly true that he had secured his nomination as prospective King of Bohemia in 1617, in order to succeed his cousin Matthias, and that upon the latter's death in March, 1619, the Estates of Bohemia had refused to recognize his nomination and had formally deposed him. But, behind the political pretext lay the far deeper religious issue. Had it been merely a question of his regaining control over Bohemia, Ferdinand would have been content with his re-establishment as King. He would have consented to the continuance of the administration of the country by the Government in Prague, with himself at its head. Bohemia would have retained its independence, and would have been associated with Austria only in the sense that both countries were ruled by the same monarch.

But the Czechs, who two centuries earlier under their great captain, Žižka, had so nobly upheld the standard of the Reformation had now

entered upon a period of decline. Ferdinand, intent upon the eradication of heresy, saw in his victory the opportunity of crushing the Reformation throughout his dominions. Bohemia must be brought back into the Catholic fold, and no means of oppression must be spared to achieve that end. He soon discovered that the only means to enforce his policy was to remove all authority from Prague and to centralize the government of the country in Vienna. By 1627 the process of subjection had reached such a stage that Ferdinand found it possible to issue a decree which proclaimed the end of Bohemian liberty. A new Constitution for the country was promulgated, by which the Bohemian Crown was declared to be hereditary in the House of Habsburg. The Estates of the Realm had formerly consisted of three *curiæ,* the representatives of the nobles, the knights and the towns respectively. To these was now added a fourth, the clergy, which was henceforth to be supreme over the original three. The Prague Diet was reduced to the position of a mere local assembly, being deprived of all legislative power and authorized to discuss only such matters as were submitted to it by the representatives of the royal authority. Finally, the Czech tongue ceased to be the official language of the country. Henceforth German was to have an

equal validity with Czech in the courts of law and for all official purposes.

Side by side with this loss of political freedom, Bohemia had lost all semblance of religious liberty. Conformably with Ferdinand's orders, the Protestant clergy had been driven from the country, and their places taken by Jesuits, anxious only to restore by any and every means the purity of the Catholic faith. The University of Prague was to all intents and purposes suppressed and succeeded by a Jesuit college. No regard was paid to the material prosperity of the country. The important mining centre of Kutná Hora, which was a stronghold of sturdy Protestantism, was practically depopulated, with the result that one of the principal industries of the country was ruined. Finally, all Protestants were ordered to sell their estates and to emigrate. As a result of these measures, Bohemia, as an independent nation, ceased to exist. For nearly three hundred years her identity was lost in that of Austria, and her people, however unwillingly were forced to become Austrian citizens.

To the other miseries of the country was added the devastation of war. Bohemia is one of the strategic situations of Europe, and has frequently during her history been a theatre of hostilities. During the Thirty Years War the

country was overrun with troops, without being enabled to snatch a new liberty from the fluctuating fortunes of the campaign. A hundred years after the Battle of the White Mountain the Estates of Bohemia displayed their servility to their masters by the recognition which they accorded to the Pragmatic Sanction, thus, by accepting the principle of the indivisibility of the Habsburg dominions, relinquishing all claim to the recovery of their lost liberties.

Only once during this period of lethargy were the dying embers of Bohemian national spirit fanned into a momentary flame. During the War of the Austrian Succession Charles, Elector of Bavaria, occupied Prague and proclaimed himself King of Bohemia. He was received with some enthusiasm, and it appeared for a moment as though the country might secure release from the Habsburg yoke. But the prospect was short-lived, and with the re-establishment of the Austrian power an even further limitation of Bohemian liberty was introduced. Maria Teresa regarded the country as one among the many provinces over which she ruled; her son, Joseph II, refused to be crowned King of Bohemia, on the plea that the country had long ceased to exist as a separate entity, and had become completely merged in the Habsburg dominions. Towards the

end of the eighteenth century it seemed as though the Czech national spirit had been completely crushed out of existence, and that Bohemian independence was no more than an already forgotten dream.

But the French Revolution aroused the national conscience in Bohemia, as elsewhere. With the resettlement of Europe after the Napoleonic Wars came symptoms of reawakening. At first these symptoms were purely literary, and were displayed in a revival of the Czech language, which it had been the policy of the Austrian Government to allow to fall into disuse. Since the time of Komenský (Comenius), who died in 1670, and whose great allegory, *The Labyrinth of the World,* had been written in Czech, no important work had appeared in that language. It was not until Dobrovský, early in the nineteenth century, published a Czech grammar and a history of Bohemian literature, that attention was recalled to a tongue which had practically ceased to exist as a written language.

Dobrovský was followed by a group of writers who carried the literary revival a step further. Jungmann published numerous Czech translations of German and English books, besides a literary history and a German-Czech dictionary. Šafařík recalled the history and literature of the

early Western Slavs, thus bringing to the notice of the Bohemian people their almost forgotten origins. Kollár, the poet, in his *Slávy Dcera* displayed the birthright of the Czechoslovaks and recalled their ancient liberties. But the greatest influence in the national revival was that of Palacký, who earned for himself the title of "Father of the Fatherland" and whose inspiration was to be that of a "guide and master" to Masaryk himself.

Palacký's chief work was a History of Bohemia from the earliest days. In the words of Masaryk (*The Making of a State*), Palacký "gave us a philosophical history of our nation, understood its place in the world, and defined our national objective." He called upon the Czechoslovaks to rouse themselves from their lethargy, and reassume their ancient position. He did not preach revolution, but the regeneration of the nation by moral force.

"It is time for our people to awaken and to seek its bearings in the spirit of the new era, to glance beyond the narrow limits of its home and, without failing in its love of its country, to become more zealously and withal more circumspectly a citizen of the world. We must take part in world trade, take advantage of the general progress, surrendering nothing of our old faith and uprightness yet discarding our old, easy-going

habits, the weakness and indifference that begot our poverty and faint-heartedness. We must tread new paths and renovate ourselves by industry—farmers, men of learning and officials not less than manufacturers, merchants and artisans. To the former comfortable cheapness of life we have said farewell for ever. No longer can we be coarsely ignorant of the needs of a civilized age. Whatever the Government of our State, taxes will not be lighter; and, if we would not decay and fall into penury, we must redouble our zeal and seek to stand as equals alongside of other nations whose spirit of enterprise has spread their sway to the uttermost parts of the earth."

And again:

"Whenever we have triumphed it has been more by the might of the spirit than by physical power and, whenever we were vanquished, it was through lack of spiritual vigour, moral courage and boldness. It is wholly wrong to imagine that the military wonders our fathers wrought in the Hussite Wars came from blind and barbaric raging and smashing, not from high enthusiasm for an idea, for moral sturdiness and lofty enlightenment. When, in a like struggle, two hundred years later, we sank almost to the grave, it was because we no longer towered in spirit above the enemy, but, being more like unto them in demoralization than unequal to them in strength, we put our hope in the sword and in force. . . . Not until we conquer and rule by the power of the spirit, in the struggle that Providence has laid upon us from time immemorial, can we be assured of a lasting future."

Under the influence of Palacký's pen the literary revival developed into a moral revival, based upon the principles and the lessons of the Reformation. In after years nobody recognized this influence of the Reformation upon the regeneration of the Czech nation more than Masaryk himself.

"Can it be an accident that three of the chief leaders of our renascence were Protestants?" he wrote. "Besides Palacký there were Kollár and Safařík, both of them Slovaks and Protestants, who took our Reformation as their starting-point. Though, as I have observed, Kollár's grasp upon the principle of humanity was not so deep and conscious as that of Palacký, the decisive fact is that he, too, was a Protestant, and that both felt themselves to be children of the Reformation, ecclesiastically and religiously. Indeed, our Slovak Protestants in general were fully aware of their spiritual descent from Hus as well as from Luther. If we would understand the true significance of our renascence, we must comprehend that among us and throughout Europe the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries carried forward the ideas and the yearnings of the Reformation."

On another occasion he wrote:

"The ideal of humanity, preached by Dobrovský and Kollár, which was the ideal of our renascence, has for us Czechs a deep national and historical meaning. It is through humanity, understood fully and in all sincerity, that we shall gain contact with the best period

of our past, it is through humanity that we shall be able to throw a bridge over the spiritual and moral somnolence of many centuries, it is through humanity that we must march in the van of human progress."

The effects of this revival were soon manifest. In spite of the absolutist régime inaugurated by Metternich, by which almost every detail of local administration was controlled from Vienna, the Estates of Bohemia began to show signs of reawakening consciousness. In 1845 they affirmed their right of controlling the taxation of the country, a right which had been reserved to them by Ferdinand's Constitution of 1627. Two years later they embarked on a more ambitious programme, and prepared to make a determined attempt in 1848 to secure three principal concessions: the increased representation of the towns in the Diet, the more exact control of the finances of the country by the Estates, and the use of the Czech language in the secondary schools and in all establishments devoted to higher education.

The meeting of the Estates at which these proposals were to be brought forward never took place. The spirit of revolution was in the air, and the events which occurred in Paris in February, 1848, produced a corresponding reaction in

Prague. At a meeting held in Prague on March 11th, a petition to the Emperor Ferdinand, previously drawn up by a number of popular leaders, was adopted. The preamble to the petition is of great interest, as showing the complete loyalty of its framers. The following passage will be sufficient to demonstrate the spirit in which the petition was framed:

"A great event in the west of Europe is shedding its light, like a threatening meteor, over to us. It has scarcely begun; but this great movement, which we guessed afar off, is carrying away Germany's allied States with it. There is much excitement near the frontiers of Austria; but your Majesty and the allied Princes have controlled the movement, while you have magnanimously placed yourselves at the head of it, to warn it from a dangerous abyss and from bad ways. The time has become new and different; it has brought the people nearer the Princes, and lays on the people the duty of rallying round their Princes, offering confidence, and entreating for confidence in the days of danger.

"Prague's faithful people, touched by the universal movement, ruled by the impulse to go before the Monarchy in loyalty and truth, lays at the feet of your Majesty its most heartfelt thanks for being allowed to speak from their full heart to their beloved King and Master. May their words find echo and just appreciation. Our confidence in God and our conscience leads us to hope that it will."

After this profession of loyalty the petition proceeded.

"Two different national elements inhabit this happy kingdom, this pearl in your Majesty's illustrious imperial crown. One of them, the original one, which has the nearest right to its land and King, has hitherto been hindered in its progress towards culture and equal rights by institutions, which, without being hostile or denationalizing, yet naturally involve a partial wiping out of original national feeling, as the condition of obtaining recognition as citizens.

"The free development of both nations, the German and Bohemian, which are united by fate, and both of which inhabit Bohemia, and a similar striving after the objects of a higher culture, will by strengthening, reconciling and uniting them in brotherhood, lay the foundation of the welfare of both nations.

"Bohemia has not yet reached that high position which it ought to have obtained, in order to meet forcibly the serious events which are developing themselves; and this failure arises from the superiority which has hitherto been granted to the German element in legal and administrative arrangements. It is not mere toleration, it is the equalizing of the two nationalities by legal guarantees which can and will bind both nations to the throne.

"But the guarantees for this excellent and sacred result, so much to be desired by every patriot, whether German or Bohemian, do not consist in the cultivation of language only. They consist in the essential alterations of the institutions which have hitherto existed,

in the removal of the barriers which hinder intercourse between Prince and People, and at the same time in universal, benevolently guarded, popular instruction by school and writing." [1]

These latter paragraphs express, though vaguely, the ambitions of the petitioners. These were more succinctly stated by the formulation of eleven points. It is unnecessary to set these out at length. They requested safeguards for civil and religious freedom, the equality of races and languages, the restoration of the ancient union between Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia, and the appointment to office of men equally versed in the German and Czech languages, besides other less important details.

The petition was carried by a deputation to Vienna on March 19th, and shortly afterwards presented to the Emperor. The revolutionary wave had by this time reached Vienna itself, and had overwhelmed Metternich, who had stood in the popular view as the symbol of absolutism. The Emperor was forced to temporize, and on March 26th a show of concession was made in reply to the petition. The Vienna Government expressed itself in agreement with the wishes of the Czechs, but deferred their more urgent demands for the consideration of the authorities involved.

[1] See *Bohemia,* by C. E. Maurice (London: Fisher Unwin).

A second and more stormy meeting was held in Prague, at which the Emperor's reply was discussed, and a new petition drawn up. Ferdinand was by this time thoroughly alarmed, not so much by the attitude of the Czechs as by the revolt which was sweeping over the whole Empire. On April 8th he replied to the second petition by a letter which in effect outlined a new Bohemian Constitution. The two languages were to possess a strict equality for all official purposes. The internal affairs of the country were to be controlled by a Bohemian Assembly, elected on a representative basis, which should also have power to consider the vexed question of local tribunals. A General Assembly, composed of the representatives of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, was to deliberate upon and regulate the union of the three provinces. Only men versed in both languages were to be appointed to office under the State. Finally, ample provision was to be made for education in Czech as well as in German.

But, although this reply was in accordance with the desires of the popular party in Prague, who now became known as the Young Czechs, it met with considerable opposition among other parties in Bohemia. The awakening of the national consciousness had not yet spread through the mass of the people. For more than

two centuries a policy of Germanization had been carried out in the country, and many of the German settlers looked askance at a movement which threatened to raise the despised Czech culture to a level with their own. In Moravia particularly the German parties were able to create a powerful opposition to what they described as the "absorption" of Moravia by Bohemia.

These criticisms of the proposed Bohemian Constitution of 1848 are particularly interesting, as they foreshadow the difficulties which attended the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic seventy years later. But, in 1848, a factor existed which was to introduce a fatal element of discord into the Bohemian aspirations towards liberty. Simultaneously with this movement, a powerful desire for German unity had arisen, and on March 31st the representatives of the German Nations assembled in Frankfort to open the Preparatory Parliament which was to formulate a scheme for the closer confederation of the German peoples.

This Preparatory Parliament dissolved after some days of more or less futile discussion, but not before it had appointed a Committee of Fifty to decide upon the questions still at issue. Among these was that of the relations which were to exist between Bohemia and the German States. The

first step of the Committee towards solving this problem was to invite Palacký to join in their deliberations as the representative of the Czech outlook. Palacký refused this invitation, chiefly on the ground that the independent Austrian Empire was necessary to the freedom and safety of Europe, and that Austria could not enter into close relations with the remainder of the German States without falling to pieces. Palacký's well-known saying that "if Austria had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent her," is particularly memorable, and has often been misquoted. It was true at the time, when it seemed that Bohemian liberty must inevitably be sacrificed should Austria become united with Germany. The subsequent pronouncements of the delegates at Frankfort proved that clearly enough. But, as will be seen later, Masaryk, who may be regarded in many respects as Palacký's successor, had the vision to perceive that the changing conditions of the twentieth century had rendered the dictum obsolete.

In spite of Palacký's attitude, the Committee of Fifty sent a delegation to Prague to confer with the Bohemian National Committee. After some discussion, the Germans revealed the real motives which inspired them, and their spokesman declared that in the interests of the majority

it was necessary that Bohemia should be absorbed into Germany. This suggestion the Czechs not unnaturally resented, and they appealed to Vienna against the proposal to hold elections in Bohemia for representatives to a second Parliament to be called in Frankfort. But the situation in Vienna was not such as to enable the Government to support even its most loyal adherents. A rising took place there on May 15th, as a consequence of which the Emperor was forced to depart hastily from the city, and the Czech leaders realized that the maintenance of their newly found liberties depended upon themselves alone. Eventually a Slavonic Congress met in Prague on June 2nd, attended by representatives from all the Slavonic races within the Empire, upon which occasion Palacký made a memorable speech.

"The Slavs have gathered from all sides to declare their eternal love and brotherhood to each other," he said. "Freedom, which we now desire, is no gift of the foreigner, but of native growth, the inheritance of our fathers. The Slavs of old time were all equal before the law, and never aimed at the conquest of other nations. They understood freedom much better than some of our neighbours, who cannot comprehend the idea of aiming at freedom without also aiming at lordship. Let them learn from us the idea of equality between nations. The chief duty of our future is to carry out the principle of 'what thou wouldst not that men should do

unto thee, that do not thou to another.' Our great nation would never have lost its freedom if it had not been broken up, and if each part had not gone its own separate way, and followed its own policy. The feeling of brotherly love and freedom could secure freedom for us. It is this feeling and Ferdinand that we thank for our freedom."

The Slavonic Congress conducted its deliberations in an orderly and peaceful manner, but, unfortunately, the extreme elements among the students and populace of Prague were impatient of such methods, and were inclined to demonstrate their national consciousness by acts of violence. These elements were alarmed and irritated by the appointment of Windischgrätz, who had already proved himself a bitter enemy to popular risings, to the command of the military forces in Bohemia. Windischgrätz, who had taken measures to control the city of Prague should necessity arise, refused to be intimidated, and a bitter feeling arose between the students and the soldiers. Finally, on June 12th, a collision took place. Count Leo Thun, the Governor of Prague, endeavoured to quell the disturbance, but was captured by the insurgents. In the course of the street fighting a stray shot mortally wounded the Princess Windischgrätz.

In spite of this terrible provocation, Windis-

grätz endeavoured to pacify the city, but things had by now gone too far for a peaceful settlement to be possible. In spite of the efforts of the Moderates, the town was bombarded, and surrendered on June 18th. The collapse of the revolutionary movement, inaugurated by irresponsible extremists, who understood nothing of the true directions in which the Czech national revival must be guided if it were to achieve success, brought down with it the hopes of men like Palacký and the delegates of the Slavonic Congress.

For the events of June proved fatal to the high hopes which had been raised in April. A bitter hatred was engendered between the Czechs and the Germans, heightened by the fact that the Frankfort Parliament had offered to send troops to the support of Windischgrätz. It was believed that the Prague revolt had been engineered by the Germans and Magyars in concert, in order that it might be suppressed and its occurrence made an excuse for the dissolution of the Slavonic Congress. The Bohemian Assembly, originally sanctioned by the Emperor, which was to have met in June, was prohibited, and it seemed as though the progress which had been made during the earlier months of the year had been lost.

On December 2nd the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph,

who issued a proclamation which contained the following words:

"Firmly determined to preserve undimmed the lustre of our Crown, but prepared to share our rights with the representatives of our peoples, we trust that with God's aid and in common with our peoples we shall succeed in uniting all the countries and races of the Monarchy in one great body politic."

But, in spite of this forecast of constitutional government, by the end of the following year a régime of complete absolutism prevailed throughout the Empire, and particularly in Bohemia. The German language once more reigned supreme both in the schools and for official use; all newspapers printed in Czech were suppressed. Only the peasantry had profited by the abortive movement towards freedom, by the removal of the remnants of feudal restriction. But this event seemed at first to be unfavourable to the national cause, for the peasants, having gained what they desired, to some extent lost interest in a movement which no longer held material attractions for them.

The Czech deputies attended the Austrian Reichstag in 1848, and continued to do so, in the face of considerable criticism from a section of the nation, until 1863, when, as a protest against the

non-fulfilment of the many promises made by the Emperor to re-establish the liberty of Bohemia, they resolved to attend it no longer. Their hopes had been raised in 1860 by a decree which outlined the formation of provincial Diets with more or less extended powers. But this decree was, within a few months, followed by a second, establishing a central Parliament in Vienna, with powers which overruled those of the Diets, and elected upon a system which showed a great partiality towards the German element. It was from this Parliament, after giving it a fair trial, that the Czech deputies retired two years after its establishment.

After the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, a new policy, inspired by Count Buest, was introduced into the Empire. This was the principle of Dualism, by which Austria and Hungary became practically independent States, under the common rule of the Emperor. The result of this was to make Germans and Magyars supreme in their respective countries and to place the Slav population, the Czechs of Austria and the Slovaks and Yugoslavs of Hungary completely under their heel. At first, this conspiracy against the Slavs was not allowed to appear on the surface. Liberal methods were employed, and Liberal Ministers placed in office. But the Czechs refused to send

their deputies to Vienna, and made such forcible representations that their ancient constitution should be revived, that negotiations took place in order to evolve some system which should be a compromise between the demands of the Czechs and the maintenance of German interests. The Emperor, in a message to the Bohemian Diet in September, 1871, stated that:

"in consideration of the former constitutional position of Bohemia and remembering the power and glory which its Crown had given to his ancestors, and the constant fidelity of its population, he gladly recognized the rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and was willing to confirm this assurance by taking the coronation oath."

But very little came of this attempt. In the following year the Czech deputies again refused to attend a Parliament in which their wishes met with such scant respect.

So far we have only considered the Western half of the great Slav family which was subsequently to be reunited in the Czechoslovak Republic. The Slovaks, who, until the ninth century, had been closely associated with the Czechs, had at that time been conquered by the Magyars under Arpad, and from that moment were practically cut off from all contact with the rest of civilization. Slovakia became a province of Hungary,

and, although the Slovaks showed a remarkable power of resistance to the process of Magyarization, it was only with the greatest difficulty that they could maintain an intermittent intercourse with their Slav brethren.

This enforced segregation of the Slovaks, as to all intents and purposes a captive people, has had an important bearing upon their development. Cut off from intercourse with the other Slav peoples, their only defence against the pressure of Magyar influence lay in reliance upon themselves. Outside influences have affected the Slovaks hardly at all. In religion they have remained mainly Catholic, isolated alike from the Hussite Reformation which so profoundly stirred the Czechs, and from the Orthodoxy of the Eastern Slavs. Similarly the difficulty of intercourse with the Czechs, has produced a divergence in what was originally a common language. The Slovak and Czech languages differ in certain minor points at the present day, as two dialects of the same tongue spoken locally.

It has been seen (page 51) that individual Slovaks played a prominent part in the Czechoslovak literary revival. (Perhaps, in parenthesis, some justification of the use of the word Czechoslovak to describe the Czechs and Slovaks at this period may be necessary. It is often supposed

that the word is of recent minting, but, as a matter of fact, this is not the case. Though not in common use prior to the War, it had been coined by a Slovak, Hurban, the friend and collaborator of Štúr, in 1839, and was subsequently used in different forms by Kollár, Šafařík and Palacký.) As early as 1840 a new impulse was given to Slovak nationalism by Štúr, a professor at the University of Bratislava. Štúr endeavoured to secure local independence for Slovakia within the borders of Hungary, and the use of the Slovak language in Slovak schools. But his efforts were unavailing, and in 1847 Magyar was proclaimed to be the sole language in use throughout the whole of Hungary.

But the events of 1848 brought a new ray of hope to the Slovaks. The Magyars proclaimed their own independence, and the Slovaks imagined that, in the confines of an independent Hungary, they would secure at least a certain measure of freedom. On May 10th, 1848, a meeting was held at Liptosky Sv. Mikulaš, in Slovakia, and a programme was drawn up. By this programme Hungary was to be divided into national districts, each controlled by its own Diet, but sending representatives to a Parliament at Budapest. The Diets were to control education, and to ensure the use of the national language in ad-

dition to Magyar in the schools. But the Magyars refused to consider anything short of their own complete domination. Their attitude has been well expressed by a Hungarian writer, M. Diner-Denes, in his book *La Hongrie.*

"The same desire for liberty as inspired the Magyars evinced itself among all the nationalities of Hungary, and, as with them, it was linked to a high ideal of nationality. The majority of the Germans, who had always professed a very slight national sentiment, ranged themselves with the Magyars. Even the Slovaks, Serbs and Roumanians were ready to enter the struggle against the Habsburgs by the side of the Magyars, if the Hungarian magnates would afford them a guarantee for the aims of liberty and nationalism which they pursued. It goes without saying that there was no contradiction between their aims of liberty and those of the Magyars. Neither was there any divergence of aim between their national aspirations. Not one of these nationalities dreamt of destroying the unity of the Hungarian State. . . .

"It would thus have been easy to unite the various nationalities of Hungary with the Magyars in the common struggle against Habsburg reaction. It was the psychological moment in which to make of Hungary an Eastern Switzerland. But how could this be possible to the magnates and their chief, Louis Kossuth? Did not he as well as they refuse, even when it was a case of war against the Habsburgs, when the very existence of the new Hungarian State was at stake, to the peasants the complete abolition of servitude, to the com-

mon people any enlargement of their rights, to the nationalities the smallest concession to their national aspirations?"

The settlement of 1867 between Austria and Hungary, by which the Dual Monarchy was established, placed, as has been shown, the Slavs of both Kingdoms in a position of definite political inferiority. But, while the Czechs contrived to resist the extremes of tyranny, the Slovaks were subjected to a persecution unparalleled in modern times. Every attempt was made by the Magyars to crush their national spirit out of existence, and so to Magyarize the country that the very name of Slovak should cease to exist. Štúr had believed that it was possible for the Slovaks to secure their own independence within the borders of Hungary. But, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it became obvious that, if Slovak liberty was ever to be regained, it could only be by a reunion between Slovak and Czech. The two branches of the nation were groaning alike under the tyranny of their oppressors. But the time was at hand when a saviour should arise, whose clear and far-seeing mind should evolve a constructive policy leading towards freedom.

CHAPTER IV

On July 4th, 1872, Masaryk left the High School at Vienna. His first intention had been to become a diplomat, mainly, as he confessed later, because such a career would give him the opportunity of visiting foreign countries. The love of travel, which had evinced itself in his early love for studying an atlas, was still strong in him, and the profession of diplomacy seemed at that time to offer the chance of its gratification. However, upon discovering that only the sons of the nobility were eligible for this career, he perforce abandoned the idea.

Consequently, after matriculating, he went to Vienna University. He had already, while at the High School, fallen under the influence of Plato, and he therefore decided to study philosophy, as well as Latin and Greek, in order that he might become acquainted at first hand with the ancient philosophers. In addition to these subjects he studied natural science. Even at this time he had no active desire to become a professor. He was far more interested in acquiring knowledge for himself than in the prospect of imparting it to others.

The study of philosophy particularly attracted

him. One of his earliest steps at the University was to seek advice from one of the professors upon how to tackle the subject in a methodical way. The reply was that he should read the whole history of philosophy, and then choose the philosopher who interested him most as a subject for detailed study. Masaryk followed this advice, and his choice, as might have been expected, fell upon Plato. His first essay, published four years later, was entitled "Plato as Patriot."

The familiar problem of how to support himself presented itself very forcibly to Masaryk after his entry into the University. Fortunately, through the interest of a friend and fellow-Czech, he was introduced to Herr Schlesinger, the Managing Director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, who appointed him tutor to his family. In this position he earned an adequate salary, besides his full board. At the same time he made several friends, one of whom in particular possessed an excellent library, in which he read much of the world's literature. The fashionable issues of the day among the student fraternity were Wagnerism and Darwinism, neither of which made any great appeal to Masaryk, who had an innate suspicion of all fashionable influences. His genius turned rather to Czech influences, and he became very active in the Czech student societies existing in Vienna

at that time. He also adopted the patriotic pseudonym of Vlastimil.

At the beginning of the year 1876, Masaryk sat for his examination, taking philosophy as his main subject and Greek and Latin for a second subject. His thesis, "The Essence of Plato's Soul," was very well received, and on March 10th he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. During the summer of the same year his pupil Alfred Schlesinger matriculated with distinction. Herr Schlesinger, delighted with this success, sent the boy and his tutor first to Italy, and then to Leipzig, where Alfred was to graduate at the University.

At Leipzig Masaryk came into touch with various fresh influences. He continued his philosophical studies, and combined them with a close investigation of Protestantism and its meaning, a study which resulted two years later in his professing the Protestant faith, making the transition quietly in order not to offend his Catholic parents. He also attended the Czech club in Leipzig, whose members were chiefly workmen. A curious incident was his meeting with a spiritualistic circle. Masaryk had already read much about occultism, in the course of his omnivorous researches, and he used his powers of observation on this occasion; and even indulged in experi-

ment. His considered judgment on the subject was that there are certain phenomena in the spiritualist realm that we do not understand at present, but there were many other things which we also do not understand which would better repay investigation.

The most significant event of his years at Leipzig, an event which proved a decisive factor in his life and which influenced his whole spiritual development, was his meeting with Miss Charlotte Garrigue. Among Masaryk's acquaintances at Leipzig was a lady by the name of Goring, who kept a *pension* in which was living a naturalized American, Mr. Garrigue. He was himself of Huguenot descent, and had married an American woman, a Miss Whiting, of an old family settled in the Western States. His daughter, Miss Charlotte, joined him in Leipzig in 1877, and was introduced to Masaryk by their mutual acquaintance, Mrs. Goring.

Masaryk, who had already heard a good deal about her, was interested in her arrival, and the two began to see a good deal of one another. On one occasion an excursion was made to a village near Leipzig, and in crossing a river on the way the boat was upset and Mrs. Goring fell into the water. She was rescued by Masaryk, who, however, caught a chill in the process, and was for

some days prevented from attending lectures, and ordered by his doctor to stay at home. He suggeted to Miss Garrigue and Mrs. Goring that the three of them should undertake a course of reading together. They read English books, since English was Miss Garrigue's native language, and especially Buckle's *History of Civilization.* Shortly after this Miss Garrigue left Leipzig and went to stay with some friends a short distance away. In her absence Masaryk realized the true state of his feelings, and proposed to her by letter. Receiving an indecisive reply, he went to see her —he records that he could only afford to travel fourth class. The visit proved more satisfactory than the letter, and they became definitely engaged.

Since he was now committed to matrimony, Masaryk could no longer afford to remain at Leipzig. The Garrigues went home to America and he returned to Vienna in the autumn of 1877. He took a post as assistant master, with the duty of teaching Latin and Greek, in the Grammar School at Leopoldstadt, and at the same time worked upon an essay on "The Principles of Sociology," which he handed to the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Vienna, with a request that he should be given an appointment as lecturer. But before a reply was received, a tele-

gram came from Mr. Garrigue to the effect that his daughter had been seriously injured in a carriage accident, and that Masaryk was to come to her at once. He did not hesitate. Hastily collecting such funds as he could lay his hands on, he travelled from Hamburg to New York in the Hamburg-American liner *Herder*. The *Herder* was far from comfortable and scarcely seaworthy —she went down on her next passage. After a most unpleasant voyage Masaryk arrived in America, to find Miss Garrigue practically recovered from her accident.

The time had now come for a decision as to the future. Masaryk, finding himself in America, where money was considerably easier to earn than it was in Austria, was tempted to seek an appointment at an American University or on a newspaper. He had, by his sudden departure, lost all chance of resuming his post at the Grammar School, and it seemed useless for him to return to Vienna without definite prospects. However, largely owing to Miss Garrigue's influence, it was finally decided that he should return and continue his studies until he qualified for a professorship. She was unwilling to let him go alone, and Mr. Garrigue was approached on the subject of giving the young couple enough to live upon for three years. At first Mr. Garrigue was averse to

the idea; holding the not uncommon opinion that a man should be able to support his wife before he marries her. However, he relented sufficiently to present the young people with three thousand marks and their passage to Vienna. This matter having been settled, the marriage took place on March 15th, 1878, the civil marriage being held at the Town Hall in the morning, and the religious ceremony in the evening at home. A week later the married couple were on their way back to Vienna.

By his marriage Masaryk obtained an insight into a world entirely new to him. The Garrigues came originally from the South of France, and claimed to trace their descent back to St. Louis. Mrs. Garrigue's ancestors were among the Pilgrim Fathers who left England on account of their religious belief in the seventeenth century. Masaryk, democrat though he was, appreciated the value of ancestral tradition. He recalls that Tolstoy in later years told him with gratification that some of his ancestors had been very eminent people. But, while fully aware of the advantages of such tradition, he retained his pride in his own sturdy Slovak peasant blood, and reflected that a fine and worthy peasant ancestry is a gift to be proud of.

Upon his marriage Masaryk added his wife's name to his own, and was known for the future as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. This taking of her name was symbolical of her influence upon his life. Her intellectual powers were hardly second to his own, and her particular bent was mathematics, displayed in a desire for precise knowledge. A Unitarian by faith, she was deeply religious, and regarded death merely as a passage from one life to another. Like her husband, she had a passionate love for truth, and this characteristic impressed itself all the more strongly on Masaryk himself. Her example taught him to find the best in the Protestantism which he had adopted, and to make of it a practical religion which could be a guide for the daily round. The young couple did everything together, worked and studied, read their favourite authors together. Until the War separated them their life was a long record of co-operation. Mrs. Masaryk retained her interest in music, and became a personal friend of Smetana, the "Czech Beethoven"; upon his works she wrote several studies.

She very quickly adapted herself to her new environment, and became a thorough Czech in spirit. She believed in the future of the nation, and she stood steadfastly by her husband's side

throughout the stormy career which lay before him. But a very anxious period opened for them with their return to Vienna. They had constant difficulty in making both ends meet, although a persistent rumour, which could not be killed, insisted that Masaryk had been fortune-hunting in America and had returned with a millionaire's daughter. Bankers came to interview him, offering him their services in the disposition of his newly acquired wealth. While they were staying at Kobouky, to which place Masaryk's parents had removed, a deputation called upon him begging him to employ his capital in the building of a new railway.

The irony of this legend as to Masaryk's means is evident when the actual circumstances are recalled. He and his wife were compelled to live in one room in Vienna, at 10 Salmgasse. Things became worse when Masaryk was taken ill with typhoid fever, and they were compelled to depend almost entirely upon remittances sent at occasional intervals by Mr. Garrigue. Masaryk upon his recovery, made desperate efforts to find employment as a teacher, and was at last successful. He also gave lectures at the University and at the meetings of various societies. But in spite of these difficulties his mental powers and his passion for acquiring knowledge remained unim-

paired, largely owing to the courage shown by his wife in adverse circumstances.

Soon after his return to Vienna, Masaryk withdrew the essay he had already presented, and in November, 1878, offered it once more in a revised form as "Suicide as a Social Phenomenon of the Present Day." This work, which attracted considerable attention, and was to form the basis of subsequent attacks upon the author, was a critical examination of the psychology of suicide. In it Masaryk attributed the prevalence of suicide to the fact that thought was in a process of transition. The old well-defined view of life, as taught by the Catholic Church, no longer gained credence, and modern rationalism had not yet replaced it by anything more satisfying. The chief disposing factor, and often the decisive cause, of suicide was the weakening of character through the loss of religion. The moral instability thus caused was aggravated by incomplete and often undigested education, which leaves the pupil with the old faiths destroyed and provides him with no fresh ones to take their place. The alarming increase in the number of suicides, the product of the decay of mediæval religion, is in the general acceptance of a new religion, based upon science rather than upon blind faith, and marked by sincerity and by its application to the problems of

modern life. This essay was published in 1881, and immediately widened the circle of Masaryk's reputation.

Its immediate result was its author's appointment as lecturer in philosophy at Vienna University. But this post carried with it no material advantages and Masaryk was compelled to support his growing family (Alice was born in 1879, and Herbert in the following year) by giving lessons to private pupils. It can scarcely be a coincidence that Masaryk's first lectures at the University were on the subject of pessimism.

But pessimism was, as a matter of fact, far from being the rule among the family in the Salmgasse. Both Masaryk and his wife looked forward confidently to better times, although these might seem long in coming. At last, however, the opportunity came, but in an unexpected and rather doubtful shape. The Czech members of the Austrian Parliament had long been pressing for the establishment of a Czech University, and in 1882 their efforts were crowned with success. The University was founded in Prague, and the search for men competent to teach in it was begun. Masaryk was already known by reputation in Prague, and negotiations were opened with him regarding a post at the new University. Almost simultaneously a tentative offer came from

the University of Czernowitz. Almost unwillingly, Masaryk decided in favour of Prague. He could not refuse both offers, his financial position made it absolutely necessary for him to seek some permanent employment at once. But Prague was to him then almost a foreign town, he knew as yet very little of the practical side of the Czech nation. Besides, Prague was nothing more than a provincial town, small and exceedingly parochial. Further, there was a more material difficulty. Although Masaryk had from time to time written in Czech, the greater part of his work had been in German, upon which language he had concentrated. He feared that his knowledge of the Czech language, though for all practical purposes it was perfect, would not prove sufficient for an appointment at a Czech University. He knew that a stranger from Vienna would be the object of close attention in the Czech city, and that his smallest failings would be greeted with a storm of criticism. It was with a heavy heart that he abandoned his poor but happy life in Vienna, and set out to begin his work in a strange city and among an unfamiliar people.

Before considering the career which was now about to open before him, it will not be out of place to review Masaryk's outlook upon education, derived from his own experience, and from

later observation of the pupils who attended his classes. His chief criticisms of the educational system of Bohemia were that it failed to cultivate independence of character, self-knowledge, and a sense of honour, and that it aimed rather at "cramming" for examinations than at laying a foundation upon which a specialized superstructure could be built later. His own case was somewhat exceptional: removed from home influences, and forced by circumstances to support himself while he learned, he naturally acquired independence of thought. But for others, more favourably placed materially than himself, their school years were at best an imperfect period in the moulding of their characters. Their tendency was to inspire in them no higher ambition than that of acquiring material security, a sort of exaggerated "safety first," which found its highest realization in a Government position, with an assured pension. In this Masaryk saw the fear of death, the fear of a life of enterprise, the negation of every sentiment that produces leaders among men.

He bases much of his criticism on the fact that one forgets really everything that one learns at school. The object of education, therefore, in its earlier stages, at any rate, should be not so much to impart a series of facts as to awaken an interest

which shall induce the scholar to ascertain these facts for himself. The first essential in awakening such an interest is that the teacher should himself be keen on his subject. Masaryk's own enthusiasm for the subjects which he was called upon to teach is probably responsible for his success, first with the boys to whom as a young man he acted as tutor, and later, in Prague, with the students who attended his classes from all quarters of the Slav world. His method was always not to lay down hard and fast doctrines, which his pupils were expected to accept blindly, but rather to discuss the subject with them, offering his own opinions about it, but inviting them to examine these opinions for themselves, and form their own conclusions upon them. His aim was to produce, not a constant stream of graduates, all moulded alike and professing the same stereotyped ideas, but a race of individuals trained to think for themselves. The aim of education, in his opinion, was to lay the foundations which should enable the individual, when confronted with any particular problem, to find the solution for himself. From his earliest years the pupil should be taught, not a bewildering assembly of facts, but the habits of accuracy, method and concentration.

Masaryk contrasts the system of education in

force on the Continent, and especially in his own country, with that obtaining in England. The English student has much less superficial erudition than his Continental counterpart, but, on the other hand, his character is far more highly trained. The Continental system neglects that vital point, and devotes itself rather to the imparting of more or less pedantic knowledge than to education in the true sense. Even in the elementary schools, the small boy is forced to such an extent that the project of examinations becomes a nightmare with him. When school is a burden, the weak learn only in fear and the strong in rebellion; both alike experience a feeling of relief when their school-days are over, and these most important years in the life of man have been utterly wasted.

Masaryk always insisted upon the necessity for the truly cultured man to learn as many foreign languages as possible. In his own case, he took the utmost pains to acquire one language after another. German, of course, he learnt first from his mother, and his knowledge of it developed naturally in the German schools which he attended. It became for him, not so much a second mother tongue, but a language necessary to the acquiring of a knowledge of general culture. In his young days very few foreign works had been

translated into Czech, and it was necessary therefore to know German in order to read them.

But from his earliest years he determined not to be content with translations. In the village of Čejkovice and round about there were to be found the descendants of the French colonists who had been planted in Moravia by Maria Theresa. A French tradition remained locally, and produced its effect upon the tortuous mind of Father Satora, who suggested that Masaryk and another boy should learn French. He undertook to teach them himself, although he had no real knowledge of the language. He had, however, some conception of its grammar, and, with this and Latin, these curious studies reached a stage at which, at least, Masaryk's interest was aroused. Later, when he was assisting a fellow-pupil in his work at home, he used to hear a French girl giving lessons in the language, and began to study it once more. He read French books whenever he came across them, the novels of Balzac, Dumas, and Victor Hugo, but, as in the case of Zola later, these failed to make a lasting impression upon him. He preferred Renan, Chateaubriand, Pascal and Rousseau, and under their influence he acquired a great respect for the French spirit, which appealed to him by the spirit of enterprise which it displayed.

Although Masaryk had already acquired some knowledge of English, it was not until his marriage that he made any extensive acquaintance with English and American literature. It immediately made a great impression upon him, which he retains to the present day. His bookshelves are stocked with English and American books of all kinds, including fiction of every description, and these books, constantly added to, are still his favourite reading. A great student of the literature of all countries, he considers that the English and American novelists are more interesting than any others, and that they portray with greater accuracy life and its experiences. Their women novelists in particular excite his admiration. In a recent conversation he expressed the opinion that although as a rule their technique was not so finished as that of their male contemporaries, and their method of expression less adroit, they had greater powers of imagination, and a fresher and more inspiring outlook.

The longing for travel, which evinced itself so early in his life, had a great influence upon Masaryk's determination to acquire a knowledge of languages. If he could not speak and understand the language of any country he might visit, he felt that he would not be sufficiently at home there, would not be able to see sufficiently deeply

into the life around him. As soon as opportunities for travel came to him, he deliberately restricted his journeys to these countries with whose languages he was familiar. The Eastern tongues never appealed to him—except during one brief period, when he set himself to learn Arabic as part of his preparation for a diplomatic career. But with the abandonment of this project, his interest in Eastern languages evaporated, and he confined himself entirely to European tongues. He admits that, as a consequence, his culture is wholly "European," under which term must be included American.

The years spent in Vienna had a decisive effect upon Masaryk's life, not so much because during them he settled down to the idea of any definite career, but from the influences to which he was subjected there. The most important of these influences was doubtless that of his wife, but there were others which played a minor though important part. Among his teachers, the one who made the greatest impression upon him was the philosopher Franz Brentano. He was not always able to attend Brentano's lectures, since his duties as a tutor perpetually infringed upon the time he was able to devote to his own studies, but he visited him at home as often as he could, and listened to his conversation. Brentano had

been a Catholic priest, but had left the Church on account of his disagreement with the Vatican Council and the doctrine of infallibility. Once he had ceased to become a member of the Church, he never alluded to religious matters, either publicly or privately. But there is no doubt that it was Brentano's example and outlook which induced the young student formally to reject a doctrine of the Church in which he had been brought up. His faith in it had certainly been already shaken, but such a decisive step can only have been due to the influence of one whom he looked up to and respected.

In the development of his philosophy, the subject with which he was most concerned, he was inspired chiefly by Plato, and it is for this reason that philosophy became with him a living force, the basis upon which modern life should be framed, rather than a mere subject for discussion in the schools. His devotion to Plato naturally led him to a thorough examination of classical culture, which he deeply admired but found in many ways inapplicable to the needs of his own country. The principal reason for which, in his opinion, was a climatic one. The ancients lacked the family life of the more Northern peoples, they had no experience of long evenings by the fireside, with their wives and children gathered

round, that are so prominent a feature of Northern life. But, in spite of this, he was a firm believer in a classical education, so long as it was undertaken in the proper spirit. The ancients, he held, were simpler and more primitive in their views upon life than modern peoples, and this simplicity made it easier for young people to get to the kernel of things. Further, the clarity and logic of the classical languages was an excellent foundation in acquiring a habit of accuracy and exactitude of thought and of expression.

During the years in Vienna Masaryk's national consciousness, which he had first felt at Brno, increased from a mere hazy perception to a real sense of patriotism, and of the duty of each individual Czech towards the nation. His first real contribution to the Czech cause was written in 1876, soon after taking his doctor's degree, and appeared as a series of articles in the *Moravska Orlice* (the *Moravian Eagle*), under the title "Theory and Practice." In these articles he applied his philosophical system to politics, and endeavoured to set the latter upon a scientific and historical basis. The tendency displayed in his argument was to criticize the passive policy of the Czech deputies in the Austrian Parliament. He entered into all the activities of the Czech societies in Vienna, which consisted for the most

part of workmen and students. He was for some time president of the Czech students' club at the University, during the years 1874 and 1875. In this capacity his powers of organization displayed themselves for the first time. He founded several societies, literary, musical and athletic, but the net result was that he spent what money he was making as fast as he received it. The idea of saving money, as he himself records, had not occurred to him at that time. It was during this period of association with the Czech students, whose enthusiastic patriotism was not over much tempered with judgment, that he first began to doubt the authenticity of the famous Czech manuscripts, so much belauded at the time. Later, in Prague, this suspicion was to develop into certainty, and the controversy which ensued was destined to mark a definite stage in his career.

Masaryk's marriage, among its other important results, had a determining effect upon his attitude towards women. The sexual instinct had never been, with him, a cause of the usual follies of youth. His own explanation of this is that he was too greatly concerned in earning enough money to keep himself, to find leisure for such indulgences. This, of course, did not prevent him from passing through the usual stage of calf-love. Following the Brno incident, and when he

was attending the High School at Vienna, he met a Czech girl at Hustopeč, where he used to spend his holidays with his parents. She was staying with the chaplain, and interested him first as being the first Czech girl from Bohemia that he had known, and because she shared his budding race-consciousness. Their acquaintanceship ripened into correspondence, and after a while the girl came to live in Vienna, where her brother was an official of sorts. This brother, who seems to have been a very easy-going sort of person, borrowed money from Masaryk, and in return made elaborate arrangements for leaving him alone with his sister. Masaryk, resentful of what he considered a plot to entangle him, although convinced that the girl had no part in it, discontinued his visits and the matter ended. A more violent passion attacked him at Klobouky, also during the holidays, he attended a dance, and fell violently in love with one of the village girls at first sight. He calculated how soon it would be possible for them to get married, and wrote to her declaring his passion. No sooner had he sent the letter off than he realized that he had committed an act of folly, and was greatly relieved when nothing came of the affair.

These early experiences were valuable, in that they showed him one of the problems that beset

young people. Later, in his more mature years, he was able to look back and derive a lesson from them. He saw that a greater comradeship between boys and girls would avert much immorality and many unfortunate love episodes. As far as the boy is concerned participation in games is the surest corrective. Games give him an alternative interest in life, and inculcate a sense of honour and fair play which extends to his relations with the other sex. Masaryk always regretted that he had no leisure for games. But he was a keen member of the Sokols, and has retained their system of physical culture throughout his life.

As a philosopher, his attitude towards women was to place them on terms of complete equality with men.

"I arrive, then, at this legitimate opinion that there is complete equality between men and women," he wrote. "I willingly give this opinion the name of sexual democracy, as opposed to the sexual aristocracy which has up till now evinced itself in the old religious social and political methods of thought."

And again:

"In the so-called feminist question, it is not only a question, and it never has been only a question, of women alone, but at the same time and to the same

extent of men. The feminist question is the masculine question, and the masculine question is the feminist question."

Many years later, when, after ten years as President, he had had an opportunity of observing the part played by women in the Czechoslovak State, he expressed surprise that they, possessing equal franchise with men, did not occupy an equal position in public affairs.

"If we are to carry out our policy of work and learning, a policy which is truly cultural, we must collect all the forces at our disposal: hence it is necessary that our women, who form half the population, should be brought into public life. The so-called Women's Question is a burning one; in reality, it is a question mainly of the middle classes, for our farmers and workers; the mass of the population do not feel this question so keenly. To me, it is a surprising fact that our Government and other public offices do not offer posts to women, especially when it is a question to a large extent of the wives and daughters of officials."

It may be remarked that Dr. Alice Masaryk, the President's eldest daughter, has always taken a prominent part in affairs, in which she has displayed an aptitude and competence more than sufficient to justify her father's faith in the ability of women.

CHAPTER V

It was in the summer of 1882 that Masaryk moved to Prague and took up his residence in a house on the left bank of the Vltava, in the quarter of the city known as the Malá Strana. Here he was at last settled upon a spot which breathed the very essence of Bohemian history. Above him towered the old castle on the Hrdačany, the stronghold of Prague since the first rude fortifications of the eleventh century. Beyond this again was the battlefield of the White Mountain, the grave of Bohemian independence. And, almost at his feet, ran the Vltava, Bohemian from its source to its junction with the Elbe, crossed by the famous bridge built by Charles IV in the fourteenth century. From this time forth, consciously or unconsciously, Masaryk was to throw the whole weight of his rapidly growing influence into the Bohemian cause.

He was now thirty-two, and fully equipped for the post which he had accepted. As a philosopher, his studies had rendered him one of the foremost thinkers of his day. But his nature was not content with mere pedantry. To him philosophy was not an academic subject, to be taught by rote to

a wearied group of indifferent students. It was a living force, by the principles of which he himself lived. And his missionary ardour was such that he was determined to teach this rule of life to the Czech youth, of whom as yet he knew so little.

During his first years at Prague, Masaryk found himself confronted by a curtain of sluggish indifference; the national spirit, which had flared up fitfully during the preceding decades, had in the eighties sunk to little more than a dull glow. It seemed as though the Bohemian people as a whole had resigned themselves to the subordinate position they occupied as subjects of Austria, and were not disposed to resist the encroachments of Germanization. Here and there, however, there were indications that this dull glow might be fanned once more into flame. The existence of the Sokol, for instance, contained a hope of emancipation for the younger generation. The Sokol —the word means "falcon"—was a gymnastic society, whose object was to encourage the development of physical culture among its members. It had been founded in 1871 by a Bohemian nationalist, Tyrš, who had inspired it with a curious patriotic symbolism. In the first place, membership of the society was confined to those who were true Slavs by birth, and in the second the exercises performed in unison by its members sug-

gested the power that could be attained by co-operation. In the Sokol, Masaryk perceived a very valuable auxiliary to his teaching.

Masaryk's point of view at this period should be fully understood. A philosopher, whose scheme of philosophy had frequently brought him into conflict with existing institutions, he was far from being a revolutionist. The task which he set himself was to educate his pupils, so that they might seek for themselves liberty of thought and conscience. Such liberty, he believed, was impossible if the process of Germanization was allowed to proceed unchecked. He had studied the Czech spirit, and he believed it to be capable of development upon worthy lines only if it were permitted to evolve unhindered. From this it followed that the Czech national spirit must be encouraged, that a new sense of patriotism must be taught to a people in danger of forgetting the claims of their own country.

But as yet there could be no thought of separation from Austria, of the reversal of the Battle of the White Mountain by force of arms. Such dreams could exist only in the fancy of extravagant visionaries, and Masaryk was before all things a realist. His object was to inspire resistance to Germanization, to keep the Czech people aloof from the influences of Vienna, which tended

to their moral extinction. He became a national leader, as it were, by force of circumstances. In order to elevate the Czech people, it was necessary to teach them patriotism, not the noisy form of patriotism which evinces itself in intrigue and riot, but a quiet and confident patriotism which relies upon a sense of rectitude. Let the Czechs as a nation revert to the virtues of their forefathers; their destinies could then safely be trusted to look after themselves.

It followed that Masaryk's appeal must be to the nation as a whole, and not to individuals. And the nation, in his eyes, must be a solid fraternity, in which every individual had his recognized place, not a group of leaders with a more or less ignorant following. "You, your neighbour, myself, all of us, we are the nation!" he declared. Democracy was his watchword from the first, but his democracy implied an equality not only of rights but of responsibilities. Democracy for him did not imply a condition in which man was free to do as he pleased, but, on the contrary, a state of which each citizen must practise the most rigorous self-control.

"We must seek fraternity not only in respect to bread, but in respect of rights, of science, of morals and religion. No aristocratic tendency must exist among priests, learned men, capitalists, or politicians; in short,

the democratic spirit is a harmonious conception of a world which proclaims the principles of an equality, not only economic and political, but also spiritual, moral and religious."

In such a democracy there could be no fanatical idea of absolute equality in which the ignorant could be considered as fully capable as the better instructed. More than once Masaryk warned the Czechs of the folly of such a conception.

"I do not recognize absolute equality. Not because I do not wish to do so, but because experience teaches me that men are not equal in respect of power, of natural gifts, of surroundings. The object therefore of all social reform must be to secure the most tolerable degree of inequality. The law can only lay down equality of rights, it cannot prescribe equality of work."

And again:

"Men are not equal among themselves, inequality exists and must continue, every one feels it and desires in consequence to see it abolished. Kant has said that equality signifies nothing more than an endurable measure of inequality. It is therefore our duty to employ all our efforts towards the maintenance of this endurable measure of inequality."

It will be understood, of course, that Masaryk unfolded his principles only gradually. The subject of his first lecture in Prague was the Scep-

ticism of Hume. This lecture was subsequently enlarged and published, and greatly increased Masaryk's reputation among learned circles. He spoke as a Professor, but as a Professor who had a thorough knowledge of the problems confronting his students, and of the application of philosophy to daily life. For the first year or so of his residence in Prague he was feeling his way, studying the material upon which he had to work. The mere gaining of a livelihood by the exercise of his duties was a secondary consideration with him. He felt the zeal of the missionary, and to this all else must be sacrificed.

He almost immediately became popular with his students, who felt the influence of a master mind, an influence which in the majority of cases inspired them throughout their lives. But this popularity did not extend to his colleagues, who by no means shared his frankly expressed views. Masaryk refused to accept any situation just because it happened to be expedient to do so. He was candid to the verge of brutality, and did not scruple to attack anything that savoured, however faintly, of deception. Truth was to him the one object and aim of all teaching, beside which nothing else must for a moment be allowed to stand. So long as he applied this principle only to the dry-as-dust theories of the lecture-room, his col-

leagues took little offence. But it was not long before he extended them to cover the questions of the day, and by this act let loose upon his head a storm of obloquy.

But, during his first few years at Prague, Masaryk's life ran fairly smooth. The poverty against which he had hitherto struggled was relieved in 1884 by a legacy of sixty-two thousand florins (about £4,500) left him by a student of the name of Flesch who had come under his influence. He was enabled to pay the debts which he had incurred in Vienna, and to place his domestic affairs upon a sound basis. But he spent very little of the money upon himself, employing the bulk of it in supporting the various literary movements with which he was to become associated. At the University, his deep knowledge made him generally respected, and his passionate eloquence and grasp of his subject made a great impression upon his hearers. It was said of him at the time, "He kneads and moulds his ideas with gestures. Gestures lend swing, direction, sharpness and tension to his words. Masaryk makes direct for the pith of his subject, adduces excellent analogies and does not hesitate to use forcible language."

In spite of his earnestness, Masaryk was never dogmatic. He would arouse interest by touching

first upon many topics, and then, in subsequent lectures, deal with each in turn. He never insisted upon the infallibility of his own views, but presented them as his own personal opinion, reached as the result of much study, but still liable to error. He warned his students that they were not to be accepted as the last word on the subject, but that it was the duty of the thoughtful man to examine them and draw his own conclusions, which he should not be afraid to express, even if they were at variance with his teacher's. This method had the disadvantage that it tended to develop a hypercritical attitude among some of his pupils, but to Masaryk this was preferable to the passive absorption of information by rote.

It was in the handling of topical subjects that Masaryk differentiated himself from the majority of his colleagues. He never hesitated to attack the vices which he believed to be inimical to society, such as sexual indulgence and alcoholism. His attitude towards these vices can be seen from some of his later writings.

"People laugh and scoff at those who do not drink, because most people do drink. It is quite natural. When a small minority undertakes anything, the great majority stands by and watches them with ridicule. But this ridicule ceases, and, for my part, I always see in it something of approbation. No one should fear this

scorn, one should never be afraid of finding oneself in the minority. The situation has always and everywhere occurred. It is minorities which originate progress and any step forward, and it is the lack of progress which is found among the great majority, who merely repeat the customs of their ancestors."

This, besides being an attack upon drink, is, perhaps unconsciously, a revelation of Masaryk's whole attitude towards life. For he ever found himself in the minority, and faced his position fearlessly. Over and over again, his most momentous decisions were hailed as the pronouncements of a fool, if not of a knave and traitor. But each time he held to them, maintaining them in the face of his opponents, until at last they were forced to admit the justice of his views.

But to return to his attacks upon prevalent vices. His method was never to adopt the denunciations of the fanatic, but to base his reasoning upon pure logic. Two instances of this will suffice as illustrations.

"When one speaks of alcoholism, what is in question is not the object, wine, beer, or spirits, but the subject who drinks them, the mental state of the drunkard, his development under the effects of drink, the results upon himself and upon his children; what is in question is the entire physical being of the drinker, his character, and his outlook on life, not alcohol, the thing in itself."

And again, upon another subject:

"It is true that the sexual instinct is very powerful; but we have, besides, various other instincts, and with respect to these we endeavour to place them under the control of our reasoning powers; the more powerful the instinct, the more urgently it requires mastering."

Such was the doctrine of the Professor, who strove by his teachings to inspire new rules of conduct in the younger generation of Czechs. But Masaryk was by no means content to confine his activities to University lectures. He had the cause of Bohemia at heart, and was prepared to devote himself to it by every means in his power. The internal political situation at that time was most unsatisfactory. The Czechs were divided into two parties, calling themselves Old and Young Czechs respectively, who neglected the pursuing of any definite policy for the pleasure of attacking one another. The national spirit was lost sight of in a maze of petty quarrels, which involved not only the politicians, but Professors and students, as well. Masaryk perceived that the intellectual life of the nation suffered in consequence, and he endeavoured to persuade his colleagues to abandon these barren arguments and to devote themselves to the production of up-to-date text-books, which at that time were badly needed. Masaryk himself

published his *Foundations of Concrete Logic;* and his lectures had a great influence on the whole intellectual life of Prague, which from this time began to develop a new existence of its own.

Not long after his arrival in Prague Masaryk began to engage seriously in journalistic work. In 1883 he and a group of his associates founded a review, *Athenæum,* in the Czech language. This review dealt with literary and scientific subjects, and was a further encouragement to the Czech people to keep themselves *au courant* with the intellectual progress of the world. He also contributed articles to various periodicals, and it was through his journalistic activities that he became involved in a dispute which was to bring him very prominently before the public.

This dispute, which became famous as the "Affair of the Manuscripts," deserves to be described in some detail. In the year 1817 a Czech student of the name of Hanka claimed to have discovered a thirteenth-century manuscript in a church at Králův Dvůr (Konigshof), a town in Bohemia. This manuscript, henceforth known by the name of the place of its alleged discovery, consisted of a series of strips of parchment wrapped round Hussite spears. Hanka showed the manuscript to his friend the teacher Dobrovský, an undoubted authority upon Slav matters, who pro-

nounced it genuine. Upon his authority, it was deposited in the Bohemian Museum. Some little time later Hanka announced a second discovery, this time at Zelená Hora (Grünberg). But on this occasion Dobrovský was not satisfied with the genuineness of the manuscript and his original faith in the authenticity of the former manuscript was seriously shaken. However, after Dobrovský's death in 1829 all doubts as to Hanka's discoveries faded away, and their authenticity was upheld by such competent critics, as Jungman, Palacký and Šafařík.

Thus justified, the manuscripts became almost sacred in Czech eyes. They were proudly pointed to as affording irrefutable evidence of early Czech culture, and they became a foundation for any arguments of all Czech patriots. It was not until 1858 that any fresh doubt was thrown upon them, in a series of anonymous articles. The Czechs were naturally indignant, all the more so as scepticism as to genuineness of the manuscripts during the next few years seemed to be confined to foreign authorities. To attack the manuscripts became a proof of anti-Czech sentiments, and every fresh criticism was furiously refuted by Czech writers and learned men. Belief in the manuscripts became an indispensable dogma of Czech patriotism.

The first rebuff to the Czech party was the publication in 1885 of an article by Professor Gebauer, the most eminent authority on the Czech language in Prague University, expressing his doubts as to the genuineness of the manuscripts, and urging that a strict and impartial investigation should be undertaken. Gebauer was overwhelmed with abuse, and upbraided as a traitor to his country. In Bohemia only one voice was raised in his defence, that of Masaryk, who had followed the controversy with his usual application, and had devoted himself assiduously to the study of its details. To Masaryk the question was not merely one of the genuineness of the manuscripts. This mattered to him very little. What concerned him was that the Czech people should make a fetish of something that would not bear the test of truth. He too urged the most exhaustive inquiry.

"This stage of the controversy is incompatible with the truth and our honour," he wrote in an article in *Athenæum*. "We are harming ourselves at home and abroad. Every sensible person will feel pain at the disappointment awaiting us. But I cannot comprehend how anyone can aver that national honour demands the defence of the manuscripts. National honour demands the defence and confirmation of the truth, and more moral courage is required to acknowledge an error

than to defend it, even if it is widespread among a whole nation."

He insisted that the settlement of the question would brook no delay. As long as the Czech people insisted upon their adherence to false documents, they could lay no claim to any real erudition or critical faculty.

Masaryk, the born fighter, had the courage of his convictions and pursued his way regardless of all opposition and without considering the possible consequences. He had been chosen as Editor of Otto's Czech Encyclopædia, and, although he had already done much preliminary work, he resigned the editorship, fearing that his uncompromising attitude might prejudice the reason of the work. *Athenæum* became the forum of those who dared—though for the most part anonymous—to support the critics of the manuscripts. In a very short time it became apparent that Masaryk was the leader of the literary iconoclasts who dared to assail the most treasured possession of their country.

The issue once fairly joined, Masaryk took the offensive with characteristic fervour. With the aid of those who supported him, he undertook a most detailed analysis of the manuscripts and of the facts surrounding their "discovery." The

most searching inquiries were instituted into the style in which they were written, which betrayed a suspicious similarity to the style and verbiage of Slav writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Masaryk himself showed that the allusions to social and æsthetic matters in the manuscripts were frequently anachronisms. In this he received the support of Lippert, who, in his *Social History of Bohemia in pre-Hussite Times,* took up a strong attitude with regard to what he called the "technical aspect of the forgeries," and remarked that "even if all linguistic and other formal objections to the authenticity of these productions could be refuted, the nature of their contents from a social-historical point of view must destroy the belief in their authenticity in unbiassed scientific circles."

In fact, the exposures of Masaryk and his friends were so convincing that no real doubt could remain as to the worthlessness of the manuscripts. It was shown that the gulf between them and all other known documents of the period in which they were alleged to have been composed was so wide that it was remarkable that any competent critic should have been deceived. Against their will, the Czech patriots were forced to accept the conclusion that they had been deceived into the acceptance of what was, in fact, a hoax.

But, far from being grateful to the men who had exposed their error, the Czech people loaded them with the vilest vituperation. Few of the patriots could appreciate Masaryk's motives, or understand his dictum that if their patriotism were ever to achieve tangible results, it must rest upon a foundation of unquestionable truth. To the thoughtless, the exposure of the manuscripts was a definite and deliberate blow at the basis of Czech nationality. It has been well said that Masaryk first achieved fame by his unpopularity. His name was branded throughout the Czech world with every vituperative epithet that could be devised. Those who attacked the manuscripts were described as traitors, criminals, literary Herods, conspirators, intellectual nihilists. Masaryk himself was described in a leading Czech organ as "a frivolous, cynical, malicious, low literary bandit—the philosopher of suicide"—the latter phrase being an allusion to his work on that subject.

Masaryk and his friends found themselves completely ostracized. The publisher of *Athenæum* refused to associate himself any longer with the review, and Masaryk was compelled to continue it out of his own resources. Spies were set to watch his movements and his activities, seeking every opportunity of discrediting him still fur-

ther. He was denounced to the University authorities, and a sort of official disciplinary investigation ensued. The only apparent result of his courageous insistence upon truth had been to cover himself with opprobrium. To all observers it seemed as though this young Professor had wrecked his career at the very outset.

But, in fact, although the noisy majority ostentatiously washed its hands of him, there was an inarticulate minority, composed mainly of students of the younger generation, who recognized the courage he had shown. The romantic chivalry of his almost single-handed fight appealed to them, and they saw in this splendid and undaunted fighter a leader who could be trusted to go forward in defence of national aspirations without fear of the consequences. They could appreciate that fact, not legend, was the basis upon which their policy must be founded, and they listened to Masaryk's lucid exposition of facts as to an oracle. From this time his influence began to spread, not only among the Czechs, but among all the Slav races, whose members began to flock to Prague University.

It was during this period that the newspaper *Čas* (Time), with which Masaryk was so closely associated, was founded. He and his followers had already formed themselves into a group,

which was contemptuously referred to as a secret society, and to which the name "Maffia" was given in allusion to the notorious Sicilian secret society of that name. This group, at Masaryk's instigation, originated the new venture. Dr. Herben, who became the "Editor in Chief," has recorded the circumstances surrounding Masaryk's connection with the journal. "*Čas* is termed a Masaryk paper. It is and it is not. It is, in so far as we all endeavoured to follow in Masaryk's spiritual footsteps. It is not, if that implies that Masaryk was its financial promoter." In *Čas* Masaryk developed to the full his principles of Realism, and later, when he had definitely entered upon his political career, the paper became the organ of the group which recognized him as its leader.

By the end of the eighties, Masaryk had become a prominent figure in the life of Bohemia, and his writings were becoming known to philosophers in other countries. As a Professor, he had gained the affection of his students, whom he addressed rather as a father than as a pedagogue. To him study meant preparation for a larger life than was enclosed within the walls of a University, and he frequently warned his pupils that knowledge was only valuable if properly applied. In an essay written for their guidance in 1859 he defined the true aim of a student as the

acquiring of a comprehensive knowledge and a wide cultivation of mind, which involved the mastery of foreign languages. The student, in order to be adequately equipped for his studies, should know at least two languages preferably German and English, in addition to his own native Slav tongue. He should study the history of his own people, and work for their future in accordance with the lessons which he thus learnt from the past. They should study the political situation, and be ready to place their services at the disposal of the party of their choice. But adhesion to party must not involve internal dissension. On one occasion he wrote:

"I do not insist upon the supremacy of any particular party, but of one thing I am convinced, that we shall be invincible if in every party and every class there are to be found a large enough number of men worthy of the name and capable of taking thought, who, without any visible bond between one another, are able to follow, each in his own sphere, a line of action tending towards a common end."

He declared that he wished to see youth accept nothing blindly, but utilize the knowledge it acquired to form an independent judgment. The student serves his people best by preparing himself thoroughly for his future profession, and so becoming an efficient citizen. He must be

strong and fearless, and exercise care of his body and soul. Finally, he must adopt an attitude of steady perseverance, and avoid discouragement if his efforts seem to meet with but little success.

"Weigh everything at its true value. What you have been unable to achieve others will accomplish. The modern man knows no halt, nor any slack period. What you have not achieved to-day you will achieve to-morrow; what you yourself have not reached, another will reach in his turn. And even if you fail, and others likewise are unable to succeed, remember that God exists to take care of that which He has created."

To his countrymen Masaryk spoke in much the same terms. His residence in Prague, his experiences in the matter of the manuscripts, had convinced him that the Czech people still had a future before them, but that, if they were ever again to be regarded as a nation, they must win that position by their own efforts. Further, these efforts must be co-ordinated and directed towards a common end. "Work of itself will not achieve our salvation; it is the object for which we work that matters. The aim of our labours should be to draw us closer together to one another. The devil also works, and with extraordinary industry." The old dissensions, the old jealousies, all these must be cleared away, and the Czech people must show a united front before the world. As a

small people, who could not hope to come to the forefront by force of arms, they must take their place by virtue of a distinctive culture. And as a means to this end Masaryk offered his conception of Realism.

"Realism is an attempt to popularize the whole realm of Science and Philosophy," he explained. "Without distorting scientific exactitude, Realism strives to render science accessible to every class of the people. Realism is a protest against the monopoly of learning, its endeavour is to socialize scientific and philosophic culture. Realism is not and does not desire to form a party, one party alone, it is a system and a method."

To Masaryk, politics was a science, and it was for this reason that he had urged his students to study the political situation. But it followed, as a natural consequence, that he himself should be drawn to take an active part in the development of this science. He felt that the founding of *Athenæum,* his part in the affair of the manuscripts, his preparatory work for Otto's Encyclopædia, were all essentially of a political nature. An even more decisive step towards a political career could be traced in the existence of *Čas* and of the "Maffia." By 1889 Masaryk had definitely decided to devote at least a portion of his untiring energies to active politics.

CHAPTER VI

By the year 1889 the Realist Party, as it came to be called, in spite of Masaryk's insistence that Realism was something more than a party cry, was already in existence. But it was not yet of a size or importance to stand alone, and Masaryk decided to approach the existing parties with a view to an alliance with one or other of them. At this time the two leading political parties were the Old Czechs and the Young Czechs, bitterly opposed to one another and engaged in trivial disputes. A popular actor defined the situation thus: "I dislike the Young Czechs because I am an Old Czech, and I don't vote for the Old Czechs because they are fools. So I shan't vote at all." Masaryk himself had contemptuously referred to both parties as "Young-Old Czechs."

However, in spite of this unsatisfactory political situation, no other parties existed, and Masaryk was forced by the necessity of choosing between two evils. He entered first into negotiations with the Old Czechs, but their negotiations soon broke down, owing to Masaryk's disagreement with certain points of party policy. He then turned to the Young Czechs, and finally, at the

end of 1890, the Realists entered the Young Czech party as a more or less unfettered wing, taking care to announce in *Čas* that they reserved for themselves a certain degree of independence. In the elections which took place in the following year, Masaryk was elected to the Austrian Parliament as member for the Šumava district of Bohemia.

Masaryk entered into his Parliamentary duties with enthusiasm. But from the first he found himself in conflict with the party with which he had allied himself. He disliked the extreme radicalism of the Young Czechs, and their lack of a constructive programme. As an earnest advocate of progress, he felt and expressed a contempt for mere political manœuvring and the publication of alarmist reports for purposes of mere obstruction. But for the moment he put these differences aside, and took an active part in Parliamentary debate. He spoke upon various subjects, notably in the Budget debate, where he outlined a programme for internal reforms in Austria. On this occasion he advocated a closer *rapprochement* between Czechs and Germans in Austria, and thereby greatly increased the tension between the Realists and their neighbours the Young Czechs, to whom any suggestion of reconciliation with the German element was anathema.

His attitude towards the complex question of the Czechs within the Austrian Empire was, in fact, very simple. Reconciliation with the Germans of Austria did not mean subservience to them; far from it. He insisted upon the characteristic nature of Czech culture, and its claims to independent development. He even went so far as to declare that the Czech national effort was tending towards political independence, and that the existence of Austria could be no bar to the eventual realization of this object. But he had sufficient political foresight to see that, as things were, the Czechs could hope to gain nothing by obstinate and factious opposition to the Germans within the Empire. By mutual forbearance and co-operation each nationality could work out its own salvation, and the two could live side by side, mutually independent, but working for a common end.

In November, 1893, the tension between Masaryk and the Young Czechs reached such a pitch that the former resigned his seat, and retired for a while from the Parliamentary arena. But before this event took place he had interested himself in a subject which was destined to bring him into still greater prominence in later years. In 1877 Austria, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, had occupied Bosnia and

Herzegovina. Since that time the occupied territories had been a source of considerable anxiety, and in September, 1892, Masaryk visited the district in order to study conditions on the spot. He thus obtained an insight into the Southern Slav policy of the Monarchy.

After his resignation from Parliament Masaryk returned to Prague without regret. He felt that he could best serve his country there, where he could devote his whole attention to his literary and professional duties, which he had never abandoned while he served as a deputy. He had continued his University lectures, and in 1891 had been at last appointed "Professor Extraordinarius." The delay in this appointment, which he did not receive until nine years after his arrival in Prague, had been due to official suspicion, and to opposition from the Czech patriots themselves who could not forget the affair of the manuscripts. Even now he was only a super-numerary, and a further five years was to elapse before he received his appointment as a full "Professor Ordinarius." The opposition exerted every possible influence against him. Masaryk had published a series of outstanding works, and his lectures had always attracted a large audience; but his younger colleagues, of far less ability but with greater respect for academic convention, had outstripped

him. The proposal of the Philosophical Faculty for Masaryk's appointment as full Professor remained unanswered by the Ministry for four years, owing to an adverse report which had been made upon his activities by the Governor of Prague, Count Thun. In 1896 Thun's successor, Coudenhově, removed the ban upon Masaryk's advancement in somewhat grudging terms. "He attends labour meetings and teaches the students Socialism, but he has become quieter," he reported.

But another and very powerful adversary appeared on the scene. Clerical circles which had always been bitterly antagonistic to him, as a Protestant, and, as they alleged, an atheist, became alarmed at the prospect of his promotion. The Archbishop of Prague denounced him to the Emperor for leading his students astray, and bringing up once more the old argument that he was an advocate of suicide. A memorandum was drawn up in Masaryk's justification by some of his friends, and this eventually reached the Emperor, who, in reply to the Archbishop's protest against Masaryk's nomination as full Professor, remarked that he knew more about Masaryk than did the Archbishop. Finally, on January 1st, 1897, the appointment was made.

The bitter opposition of the Clerical party ori-

ginated not so much from Masaryk's Protestantism as from his attitude towards religion as a whole. Catholicism, as he saw it, was the enemy of democracy and of all true progress, and was more concerned with religion as a political force than with its effect upon the lives of men. The insistence of the Catholic Church upon outward observance seemed to him to stultify all inward development. "Man was not made for devotion, but devotion was made for man," he wrote. He insisted upon the wide gulf which exists between mere religious observance and true morality.

"Morality is not religion, and religion is not morality. One may be a fervent believer, devoted to one's Church, to its dogmas and its ordinances, and still not be moral. One can even be immoral. I do not speak only of hypocrisy. But religion assumes so many different forms that it is a mistake to rush to the conclusion that because a man has a religion he necessarily leads a moral life."

And again:

"Our need is not for morality and religion in the abstract, in systems and in books, but in daily life, in business and in politics. Morals are not made for the study, nor is religion made for the Church."

It was perhaps natural that sentiments such as these should expose Masaryk to the attacks of the

Clericals, who insisted upon a blind and unwavering obedience to the doctrines of the Church. Their hatred was to follow him throughout his career.

From 1893 onwards Masaryk busied himself in the attempt to reorganize the Czech political outlook on realist lines. He engaged actively in literary and journalistic work, and lectured both within and without the University. In the autumn of that year he founded a monthly periodical, *Naše Doba* (Our Epoch), and in the first number he expressed his ideas upon the attitude which should be adopted by the Czech people.

"The question that we have to consider is this: what position does our people hold among European nations? What is our position in the development of humanity? In order to answer this question we must acknowledge the independence of our culture, we must decide what we have given to the world and what we have received from others. We must understand ourselves thoroughly, we must determine what course we are to pursue in order to advance our development. These things we can only achieve by criticism and by fighting against insincerity."

The earlier copies of *Naše Doba* contained a series of essays which were subsequently elaborated and produced in the form of an important book, *The Czech Question*. In these essays Mas-

aryk set out his ideas upon the form in which life should present itself to the Czech mind. He advocated a return to the humanitarian ideals of the Bohemian Brothers, the application of the examples of the great men of the Reformation. He urged the Czech people to assume a conciliatory attitude towards the Germans, repeating that by this means alone could the Czechs regain their lost liberties. Bohemia was included within the Austrian Monarchy, and, for the present at least it was futile to consider her separation from it. The task of the Czechs must be to develop their own culture, while at the same time keeping a careful watch upon the destinies of the country of which they formed part. Affairs at home must be regarded from a critical and practical standpoint. In the place of the Utopian dreams of many of the Czech patriots of the period he demanded a calm and reasoned review of the situation as it actually existed. The Czechs must learn to know themselves before they made extravagant claims as to their own worth, for mere pedantry they must substitute a broadness of outlook, knowledge must be made available to all classes of society. In short, the Czechs must become a cultured and democratic race.

Even more outspoken was Masaryk upon the

subject of the relations between Bohemia and the Monarchy.

"Our politics cannot be successful unless they inspire a genuine and deep interest in the fate of Austria. We must undertake a cultured and political endeavour to work for the betterment of Austria and her Government, in accordance with the needs of our people, rather than adopt an out-of-date and passive loyalty. Our people say that it is immaterial to us what happens in the other countries of Austria. This is false. If we cannot be indifferent to occurrences in foreign States, how much less can we be indifferent to the development of conditions in countries so closely connected with ours, upon whose co-operation we must ultimately depend?"

Time and again Masaryk insisted upon the necessity of cultivating good relations with the Germans of Austria. He pointed out that Germans and Czechs were close neighbours, that they lived together in the same towns and villages, that they had political, domestic, and cultural points of contact. It was essential that a *modus vivendi* should be found, based upon equal rights and democratic justice. There should be no false striving after unattainable brotherhood, but each should stand on their own ground in an attitude of mutual respect. It was a fatal delusion, shared by many Czechs at that time, that all Czech

history was a record of struggle with the Germans and the Vienna Government.

In May, 1897, Badeni, the Minister-President, wishing to secure the political support of the Czechs, published certain ordinances which had the effect of putting the Czech language on the same standing as German for official use. The Czechs as a whole welcomed the ordinances with enthusiasm, but Masaryk withheld his approval. He did not believe in a bi-lingual system, regarding it as a compromise. He declared that a single language system should be employed, and that the official language should be Czech in the Czech districts and German in the German districts. He was not alone in this opinion, but he was almost the only man who had the courage to declare his convictions in the midst of the storm of popular approval of the measure.

It is particularly interesting to study Masaryk's conception of the ideal government of Austria at this period. An enemy of absolutism in any form, he wished to see the democratizing of the Monarchy. He desired the inauguration of a Government elected by popular vote upon the widest possible franchise basis, and the abolition of the rule of Church dignitaries and military and bureaucratic chiefs. He had at this time no desire to see the dissolution of the Monarchy, believing

with Palacký that Austria was necessary for the stability of Europe. With her disappearance Bohemia could not have escaped Germanization, and it was therefore necessary in the interests of Bohemia that Austria should be supported and strengthened. And his theory was that Austria could best be strengthened by the adoption of a democratic constitution, which would allow each nationality full liberty to develop along its own lines.

By his fearless exposition of this theory Masaryk became still further unpopular with those Czech patriots who believed that the duty of all good Czechs was to maintain an intransigent attitude towards all things Austrian. He was already an object of suspicion to the authorities who believed that his democratic teachings were calculated to undermine the existing régime. And at this juncture occurred an incident in which the part he played very nearly cost him the loss of the influence he had gained with the younger generation.

On the Saturday before Easter, 1899, a girl of nineteen, the daughter of a peasant, by name of Agnes Hrůza, was found lying dead in the road near the town of Polna with a knife-wound in her throat. A Jewish youth of twenty-two, a cobbler's apprentice, was suspected, and after five days'

trial in September of the same year was found guilty. The theory of the prosecution was that the murder had been perpetrated for ritual purposes, and that the girl's blood had been required for some form of Jewish sacrifice. This theory received some support from the doctors produced by the prosecution, who stated that insufficient blood had been found in the vicinity of the crime to account for the bloodless condition of the body. The council for the defence was successful in lodging an appeal, and further medical evidence was sought. On this occasion the experts gave it as their opinion that the blood found corresponded to that lost from the body and the Court of Appeal revoked the previous verdict, which had been largely based upon the acceptance of the ritual murder theory, and ordered a fresh trial.

But this was only an occasion for further allegations. In the course of these fresh proceedings a further charge was brought against Hilsner, that of the murder of another girl, Marie Klima, who had disappeared from the neighbourhood of Polna since July of that year, before Hilsner had been taken into custody. A skeleton, assumed to be that of the missing girl, had been found in some woods about the time of the second trial. It was alleged by the prosecution that Hilsner

was the criminal in this case also, although there was no direct evidence connecting him with the crime. But the theory of ritual murder was so deeply implanted in his accusers that no such evidence was considered necessary. It was enough that there were certain aspects of similarity about the two crimes. Hilsner was already accused of murdering the girl Hrůza for ritual purposes, it therefore followed that he had murdered Klima for similar reasons. Popular opinion in Bohemia did not doubt the fact for a moment.

It is obvious that such an assumption could not have been entertained for a moment without some instigating cause in the background. This cause must be sought in the anti-Semitic hate which still existed throughout Central Europe. This hate, smouldering beneath the surface, was liable at any moment to burst into violent eruption. The mention of ritual murder in the case of the original crime had aroused all the half-forgotten legends dating from mediæval times. In the eyes of the horrified people, the Jews appeared once more as a race of criminals, waging a brutal and secret warfare upon their Christian associates. A wild fury broke out against them, and against Hilsner, their destined scapegoat.

The public prosecutor at the second trial discarded the ritual theory, but accused Hilsner of

the murder of both girls. He seems to have been influenced by the medical evidence, which was inconclusive, and brought forward an alternative theory that the murders were ordinary sexual crimes. But his witnesses were obviously convinced that ritual murders had been committed, and their opinion was shared by the great majority of the public, who adhered firmly to this fantastic legend. Hilsner was eventually found guilty of both crimes, after a seventeen days' trial during which public excitement was at fever pitch, and sentenced to death. He was subsequently reprieved, and his sentence commuted into one of penal servitude for life.

The case aroused a tremendous sensation throughout Europe. Among the Czech public in particular a wild and unreasoning anti-Semitic fury blazed up in a sudden conflagration. The flames were fanned by the Clerical party, which went so far as to join hands with the liberals in sympathy with their anti-Semitic programme. The Czech journals, with the solitary exception of *Čas,* burst into violent denunciations of the Jews and of their horrible practices. As in the case of the Králův Dvůr and Zeleuá Hora manuscripts, the Polna murders became a national issue. Formerly, belief in the authenticity of the manuscripts was a proof of true national feeling.

Now, belief that the murders were evidence of wide-spread Jewish malpractices was required from all true patriots.

The connection between anti-Semitism and Czech patriotism may not be immediately apparent. The clue is to be found in the fact that in Austria of those days the Jews were to a great extent associated with the German element, in opposition to the Czechs. To have any sympathy with the Jews was therefore to side with the German party, still an unpardonable sin in the eyes of the majority, in spite of Masaryk's labours. The patriots, careless of the truth as they had been in the affair of the documents, took up a violently anti-Semitic attitude and loudly proclaimed their belief in the horrors of ritual murder. Jews were expelled from society to which they had belonged for years, and all friendly relations between them and their Christian associates were broken off. Throughout the country, and even in Prague itself, the popular excitement evinced itself in destruction and violence. The windows of Jewish houses were broken, tombstones were overthrown in Jewish cemeteries, funeral processions were molested, and individual Jews were attacked and severely beaten.

The whole nation—and, for that matter, many

people beyond the borders of the nation—seemed to have been seized by an unreasoning anti-Semitic madness as a result of the Polna murders. But, as in the case of the similar wave of popular fury which overwhelmed France at the time of the Dreyfus case, there were to be found a handful of Christian men whose high moral principles would not allow them to join in the popular clamour. These men, not necessarily out of sympathy with the Jews, whose persons and property were seriously menaced, but from an innate sense of justice, set themselves to stem the tide regardless of possible consequences to themselves. Among them were Masaryk and his friend the poet Machar.

It was not to be supposed that Masaryk, the realist, was likely to indulge in a belief in ritual practices, which had its origin in mediæval superstition. But, as it happened, he was drawn into the controversy almost as if by accident. A correspondent of the *New Freie Presse* of Vienna asked him for his opinion at the time of the first trial, and published his answer in the columns of his paper. From this moment Masaryk was committed to the defence of his opinions. In September, 1899, he wrote an article in *Čas* pointing out the folly of accepting the ritual murder superstition. The Czech people, he declared, in

adhering to belief in such fairy stories, were making themselves the laughing-stock of Europe, and seriously belying any claims they might have to superior culture. He followed up this article by numerous others in such newspapers and periodicals as could be persuaded to accept them. He also published a pamphlet *On the Necessity for Revision of the Polna Trial* at the close of the original proceedings in September, 1899. This pamphlet was suppressed by the authorities, on the ground that the matter was still *sub judice.* A second and more important essay, *The Significance of the Polna Crime in Relation to Belief in Ritual Murder,* was published in the following year.

Masaryk's campaign was based not only upon his own personal convictions. He was perfectly satisfied that ritual murder was not practised among the Jews, but this in itself was not sufficient for him. He studied the case as thoroughly as though he himself had been briefed as counsel for the defence. He consulted medical and legal works, and applied for information on technical matters to unbiassed foreign scientists. Then, equipped with this medico-legal knowledge, he proceeded to analyse the evidence, pointing out discrepancies in the statements of various witnesses, deficiencies in the statement drawn up

after the post-mortem, and in the various medical reports, and various irregularities in the procedure. As a result of these researches he made it abundantly clear that there was no question of ritual murder. But, though this conclusion was obvious to all thinking people, it produced no effect upon public opinion, rancorous against the Jews and seeking every opportunity to discredit them.

As might have been expected in such circumstances, Masaryk's defence of Hilsner from the charge of ritual murder recoiled upon himself. The fury of the populace was diverted against this solitary Professor, who dared to publish opinions so diametrically opposed to popular conviction. As at the time of the affair of the manuscripts, he was overwhelmed with abuse, originating not only in his own country, but also among anti-Semitic circles throughout Europe. For example, a manifesto issued by the Bavarian Reform Party in Munich opened with the words: "A hireling of the Jews (Judenknecht), Professor Masaryk of Prague, the editor of a journal subsidized by the Jews, has written a pamphlet full of lying statements about the Polna Ritual Murder." The allegation that Masaryk was in the pay of the Jews spread like wildfire throughout Bohemia and abroad. He

became for the moment the best-hated man in the country. The whole Czech people were against him; even his students, carried away by the popular fury, broke up his classes, and his lectures had to be suspended. So bitter was the feeling in Prague that at one time he had packed his boxes in readiness to leave the country.

All those who knew him, however, knew that it was his devotion to the truth at all costs which had urged him to the attitude he had adopted. He could not endure to see superstition and falsehood outweigh all principles of reason and justice. In a conversation with Dr. Lederer, Masaryk expressed his views.

"I defended Hilsner because it was the case of an innocent man, and incidentally because Czech honour was at stake. I am called a traitor, because I could not endure to see the disgrace of my people. What must the world think of the culture of our nation? We have lived for centuries side by side with the Jews—cannibals, as they are represented by the adherents to the ritual murder theory. The Bohemian Jews are the élite of the Jews of the Empire. My opinion of them has been lowered by the events consequent upon this trial, since many of them desired the termination of the affair merely for the sake of peace. In this case, however, it is not merely the peace and security of the Jews, but the life of an innocent man that is at stake. Even if Hilsner is a worthless rascal, he is still a human being."

The storm passed, as it was bound to do, and in their restored sobriety the Czech people realized that Masaryk had played the part of a true patriot and a courageous man. Once more he had shown that in his eyes patriotism did not consist in blind agreement with the opinions of the majority, but in striving to lead the national thought into reasonable and truthful channels. The Hilsner affair is merely a prominent example of his attitude. During the whole of the period of his residence at Prague he endeavoured to teach his people a pure patriotism, based upon the principles of humanity and having its root in the history of the Czech nation. Since the Battle of the White Mountain the Czechs had fallen away from the traditions of their ancestors, and Masaryk believed that their regeneration could only be sought through a return to these traditions. The greater part of his writings and lectures were devoted to this end. His ambition was to found a national policy, based on tradition but unfettered in its susceptibility to progress. By what was called the Czech Question, Masaryk understood the development of a small nation which must realize and overcome its disadvantages in order to take its due place in the world which it had lost through its submersion in an alien race.

His political sense taught him that this place could not be gained by force or through revolution. The Czechs must first display a national consciousness, and then their position would automatically fall to them through "a revolution of hearts and heads." History taught that humanity founded upon religion had been the characteristics of the Czechs in the days of their prosperity, and a return to this principle was the way in which a new salvation must be found. The Czech Reformation had its origin in a love of truth and of real Christianity, and its success showed that these principles were in accordance with the nature of the Czech people.

Masaryk believed the Czechs to be an essentially democratic people. He attributed the loss of their liberty, which culminated in the events following the Battle of the White Mountain, to their loss of the democratic spirit, and he preached the reconstitution of the nation on socialistic lines. But it is essential to understand what he meant by the word Socialism. In *The Social Question,* which appeared in 1899, he defined it as follows:

"Socialism, speaking in quite general terms, aims at a more equitable distribution, a distribution inspired by justice, of all benefits, and at the perfection of the social organization. This claim includes within itself all other claims, and it implies other and very important duties."

In the same work he goes on to say that Socialism must be creative, and warns his readers that even Socialism cannot produce Utopia.

"Any rectification of the social order presupposes the suppression of the faults of the previous régime, and that the faults of the new order should be less and more tolerable than those of the old. I imagine that no reasonable man believes that any new order, whatever it may be, can be absolutely perfect and faultless. Every Socialist system must take good care that the new régime which it advocates shall ensure a marked increase in economic productivity, and also that it strengthens all truly creative social forces in every sphere."

The Socialism of Masaryk was an attempt to produce a new order of things, which should encourage every national activity, economic or intellectual.

During the height of Masaryk's activities he found time to spend some weeks every summer in Slovakia, at Bystriča, a small town among the foot-hills of the Carpathians. He still looks back affectionately to the days spent there fishing and shooting, and recalls several occasions when he spent the day with only a dog for his companion, stalking bears or wild boar. All his life he had been an enthusiastic sportsman, and had never lost the love of country life which he had learnt from his parents. Further, his sportsmanship was

inspired with the spirit of humanity which he so ardently preached. He recounts how one day he came unexpectedly upon a bear in a narrow clearing in the middle of a forest. He began to stalk it cautiously, but his dog ran out and alarmed the beast. Bears, according to local tradition, derive their nature from that of the people among whom they dwell. The Slovaks being a peaceful and unaggressive people, it was to be anticipated that this Slovak bear would not show fight. Nor did it. On the appearance of the dog, it turned and shambled away. Masaryk fired, although the range was too long to make a kill certain, but only succeeded in wounding the animal. He spent the rest of the day tracking it through the forest, and only abandoned the pursuit when it was clear that further efforts were useless. He was tormented at the thought of the bear lying wounded, and reproached himself with having fired at all. He was greatly relieved to hear, some days later, that the animal had been found dead by a party of foresters.

But his days in Slovakia were not devoted entirely to sport. As a Slovak by birth, he had throughout his career taken a keen interest in the Slovaks who were then held in bondage under the iron heel of the Magyars. He believed that their only chance of securing their liberty was

through a close attachment to their brother Slavs, the Czechs. The two nations were of the same race and origin, and were only kept apart by the jealousy of the Germans of Austria and the Magyars of Hungary, who dreaded an alliance of Czechs and Slovaks almost as much as they dreaded the Pan-Slav tendencies of the Southern races of the Empire. Masaryk got into touch with leading Slovaks, such as Dr. Šrobár, a prominent member of the "Hlas" group of Slovak patriots. It is worthy of note that when the events of the war brought Czechoslovak unity within the realm of practical politics, Dr. Šrobár took a prominent part in securing the adhesion of the Slovaks to the policy inspired by Masaryk.

CHAPTER VII

It was not long before Masaryk once more turned his attentions to practical politics. In 1895 he had been invited by the Young Czech Party to stand for Karlín, a suburb of Prague, in the elections for the Bohemian Diet; but his candidature was unsuccessful, owing to the opposition of the Executive Committee of the party, which had not forgotten the quarrel which had led to his earlier resignation. It was becoming clear that if Realism was to become a living force in political life, it must stand upon its own feet, without entering into entangling alliances with the existing parties.

This course had always been favoured by Masaryk's colleagues, though Masaryk had hitherto opposed it, on the grounds that the time was not ripe for such a step. However, when a move was made to establish *Čas* as the acknowledged organ of the Realist Party, Masaryk took a great interest in the scheme. The new policy was proclaimed in *Čas* on November 18th, 1899, and an appeal for financial support was made. At first the response to this appeal was only sufficient to allow of the publication of *Čas* on alternate days, but this partial success was

enough to mark the beginning of the existence of the Realists as an independent party. On December 17th, 1899, the shareholders of *Čas* convened a special meeting, passed a resolution that in future the Realist Party should possess a political organization of its own, and an Organizing Committee was elected. Ten days after Masaryk's fiftieth birthday (on March 17th, 1900) this committee became the Executive Committee of the Realist Party, and a Convention of all members of the party was summoned. Masaryk himself opened the Convention, and spoke upon the general political programme of the party. He followed this by an explanation of the political situation as a whole, and of the relationship of the new party to those already in existence. His speeches at the Convention were subsequently published as "The Skeleton Programme of the Czech People's Realist Party."

During the early years of the twentieth century Masaryk was engaged upon the consolidation and defence of the new party, which was the object of attack from all directions. In the refutation of the criticism of his political opponents Masaryk displayed his powers of bold and convincing argument, and the appeal of Realism to the country was shown by the rapidly increasing support afforded to the new party. By the end

of September, 1900, *Čas* was in a sufficiently flourishing financial condition to enable it to appear as a daily. But this success only aroused the opposition to fresh efforts. For the next seven years Masaryk was engaged upon an intensive course of lecturing and journalistic work as leader of his party, which, in 1905, changed its name to the Czech Progressive Party. His meetings were almost always stormy, and were frequently regarded by the authorities with deep suspicion. At a meeting in Prague in support of universal suffrage, at which Masaryk was the principle speaker, he narrowly escaped a charge of disturbing the public order.

But Masaryk's extraordinary energies were not confined to Bohemia, or even to the Monarchy. In 1902 he visited England and America. In the latter country he lectured at the Crane Foundation for Slavonic studies at Chicago University, and was invested with the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (*honoris causa*). He also lectured in other American cities, notably Boston, where he delivered a lecture upon the "Movement from Rome." He returned home in August, 1902, and published an account of his experiences in the Czech colonies of America. Influenced by his American tour, he began to deal more systematically than he had yet done with the religious

question. The Hus celebrations in Prague in 1903 seemed to mark him as the leader of the "Movement from Rome," and still further inflamed the Clericals against him.

Early in 1906 he spoke at a student's meeting in Prague upon the educational side of religion, and upon the religious crisis in the school. The sequel to this speech was the institution of an action for libel against him on the part of 308 teachers of theology, on the ground that he had accused them of false teaching. This action failed, the tribunal deciding that the words he had used were not libellous. But a second charge was laid against him, this time by the Attorney-General, of "Disturbing religion" by certain words which he had uttered in the same speech. He again won his case, and soon afterwards vindicated his position in a public discussion with certain Catholic speakers at Hradec Králové, which discussion was subsequently published.

This very brief and incomplete summary will serve to show the lines upon which Masaryk was working and, consequently, the general tendencies of the Progressive Party, during the first seven years of the new century. At last, on January 30th, 1907, a new franchise for the Monarchy came into force, and the date of a general election for May 14th. Masaryk stood as Pro-

gressive candidate for the Valašsko division of Moravia, and was duly elected, a seat which he retained until the outbreak of the war. One other Progressive, Professor Drtina, was also successful, and these two formed the smallest group in the Austrian Parliament. But its intellectual capacity was out of all proportion to its size. Masaryk, even by his opponents, was by now regarded as one of the leaders of Czech opinion, and from the first he assumed a very important position in the Parliament. During the Budget Debate at the opening of the session he declared his position. In this speech he acknowledged his debt to the Social Democrats, explaining that he was in agreement with their projects for social reform, although there was very little in common between his own ideas and those of Marxism. He found time once more to visit America, where he lectured in Chicago and Boston, in the latter city on the religious situation in Austria. By the beginning of October he was back in Vienna, where he took part in the opposition against the proposed handing over of the Universities to the Church.

The time had now arrived when Masaryk was to attain a world-wide reputation as the defender of liberty of faith and conscience. Two incidents were thus to bring him into prominence—his attitude towards the "Wahrmund Affair" and

the part he played in the events in Croatia which followed the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two incidents mark a definite stage in Masaryk's career, and are therefore worthy of description in some detail.

On January 19th, 1908, Professor Wahrmund, of the University of Innsbruck, delivered a lecture at a meeting of the "Free School" Society, in which he developed the arguments against the placing of schools under Clerical influence. This lecture was issued later in the form of a pamphlet and created a considerable stir. Wahrmund's thesis was a more or less veiled attack upon two of the most famous pronouncements of ultramontism, the "Syllabus" of Pius IX, and the encyclical *Pascedi Gregis* of Pius X. The Clericals exercised all their forces to silence the author and endeavoured to mobolize both the Tyrolese Diet and the Austrian Upper House in their support. As frequently happens in such matters, Professor Wahrmund's opponents made use of methods which were not above criticism.

Masaryk, although he was not in exact agreement with Professor Wahrmund's attitude, took up his usual rôle of champion of the unjustly persecuted. He spoke in Parliament, amidst much angry interruption, in Wahrmund's defence. He acknowledged the scientific and philosophical in-

accuracies contained in the much-discussed pamphlet, but maintained that these inaccuracies did not justify the attacks which had been made upon the author. He insisted very strongly that the Clericals and the University of Innsbruck had no right to prevent Professor Wahrmund from expressing his convictions. In this speech Masaryk went beyond the limits of the Wahrmund affair, and went very thoroughly into the question of the separation of Church and State and also of Church and School. Though he was successful in arousing much sympathy for Wahrmund, his action had the not unnatural result of focussing still more upon himself the hatred and animosity of the Clericals, already the bitter antagonists of the Progressive Party.

Before dealing with the part played by Masaryk in the Zagreb (Agram) High Treason Trial, and the resulting Friedjung Trial, it will be necessary to recall a series of events which, in the opinion of many diplomatists, almost plunged Europe into war in 1908. For a long time Austria had been contemplating the conversion of her protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina into actual possession of these provinces, and Baron Aehrenthal, upon his succession to power in 1906, determined to take this step at the first convenient opportunity. As much

as a means for testing European opinion as anything else, he published early in 1908 his scheme for the construction of a railway through the Sandjak of Novibazar. An outcry was raised in the European press, and it seemed as though the time was not ripe for Austrian expansion towards the East.

However, the events connected with the Turkish Revolution offered an opportunity which was not to be missed. On October 5th, 1908, Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed the independence of his country, and declared himself King. Two days later the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formally announced.

The annexation was a direct violation of the Treaty of Berlin, but the chorus of disapproval with which it was greeted throughout the world was due not so much to this fact as to alarm at the prospect of growth in the power of Austria-Hungary. But the hostility of the foreign press, whatever it might be due to, had to be countered, and Aehrenthal set out to prove the urgent necessity which had driven Autria-Hungary to annex the two provinces. It was alleged that a vast Pan-Slav conspiracy existed, with headquarters in Belgrad, and agents spread through Croatia, Dalmatia, and especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the peace of Europe were to be

maintained, it was essential that Austria-Hungry should be in a position to stifle this conspiracy which aimed at nothing less than a revolt of the Slav provinces of the Empire.

It was necessary, if this argument was to find acceptance in Europe, that proofs of the existence of such a conspiracy should be adduced. Baron Rauch, the Ban of Croatia, entered upon an intensified campaign of arrests, until by January, 1909, no fewer than fifty-eight Serb subjects of Austria-Hungary were imprisoned at Zagreb (Agram), the capital of Croatia, awaiting their trial on a charge of high treason. The prisoners were accused of having been concerned in a movement to alienate Croatia and Dalmatia from the Monarchy. It was alleged that they had acted under the direction of a revolutionary society, known as *Slovenski Jug* (the Slav South), which was said to aim at the establishment of a Great Serbia under the ægis of the Karageorgevič dynasty, and to have the moral and financial support of King Peter and Prince George.

The trial, which began on March 3rd, 1909, rapidly degenerated into a public scandal. It was popularly believed at the time that the judges had been purposely chosen for their incompetence and servility, since more reputable persons would have infallibly acquitted the prisoners on the evi-

dence offered. These judges allowed unlimited latitude to the prosecution, and, on the other hand, bullied and browbeat the accused and their defending counsel. The only witnesses allowed to give their evidence without threats and interruption were those who displayed uncompromising hostility towards the accused. Finally, the verdict was announced on October 5th. Two of the accused were sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, one to eight years', three others to seven years', six others to six years', and nineteen to five years'. The total sentences amounted to one hundred and eighty-four years.

But meanwhile many incidents had occurred in connection with the case. Masaryk, appalled at the travesty of justice, had attended the trial and had even gone to Belgrad to investigate the truth of the allegations as to the existence of a Pan-Serb conspiracy. He had never approved of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he was not likely to be led away by arguments in favour of the necessity of the step. He maintained that the only justification for the annexation of the provinces could be the consent of the inhabitants or their representatives, and this had most certainly not been obtained or even considered. He declared that the solution of Austria's Balkan problem lay not in aggressive tactics and

threats of war, but in an intensified campaign of education, which might reconcile the restive Slavs to Austrian rule. But this would necessitate an entirely fresh orientation of policy, both at home and abroad. If the policy of an educational campaign were to be adopted, energetic pioneers would be required, and no training of these had so far been undertaken.

On May 14th, 1909, Masaryk brought forward an interpellation in Parliament on the subject of the Zagreb trial. He demanded that a committee should sift the evidence as to the alleged treasonable movement towards secession in the southern provinces, and lay their conclusions before a council of the Empire. He also spoke of the conduct of the trial itself, and mentioned the deplorable conduct of the judges. Nor did he spare the men behind the scenes, Aehrenthal and the Ban of Croatia.

His speech caused a great sensation, and was broadcast throughout Europe. How true were his allegations against the judges was proved by the issue of an instruction by the High Court in Zagreb that the judges should refrain from frequenting public houses at night during the continuance of the trial! But the papers devoted to the interests of Aehrenthal and Rauch, especially those published in Croatia, burst into a fury of invec-

tive. One of them described Masaryk as "a vulgar parrot." Another reported, that "a certain Masaryk, of whom nothing is known in Croatia except that he is the father of our Progressives. . . . This Czech, who is nothing but a Pan-Slav *agent provocateur* in Serbian sheepskin . . . had the boundless insolence to attack our judges in a manner which baffles criticism, for no dictionary contains the right expression for such behaviour." Finally, the *juge d'instruction* published a statement addressed to Masaryk in which the following passage occurred: "I shall not have your speech in my hands for another forty-eight hours. I declare you beforehand to be a blackguard, a ragamuffin, a man without honour, a nobody, the refuse of human society." Needless to say, this inspired abuse did not trouble Masaryk, and he devoted himself with renewed attention to the relations existing between the Monarchy and the Southern Slavs.

Meanwhile, these had passed through a very grave crisis. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had aroused tremendous excitement in Serbia, where an influential section of the people demanded the immediate declaration of war upon the Monarchy. In spite of diplomatic representations by the Western Powers, the situation grew rapidly worse; mobilization took

place on both sides, and by the latter end of March, 1909, it seemed as though war was inevitable. However, the abdication by the Crown Prince George of his right to the succession, and the sudden resolve of Russia to recognize the annexation, took the heart out of the Serbian war party. On March 30th Serbia formally declared that the *fait accompli* in Bosnia in no way affected her rights, and the danger was past.

But, while the crisis was at its height, on March 24th, an article entitled "Austria-Hungary and Serbia" had appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*. This article was written by an eminent Austrian historian, Dr. Friedjung, and contained the gravest accusations against the Serbs, and their alleged accomplices among the leading politicians of Croatia. It was based upon documentary evidence which could only have been supplied from Austro-Hungarian Government sources, and was obviously intended as an official justification of the occupation of Serbia which would result from the war at that moment considered inevitable. The article was intended as the first of a series, but, the danger of war being averted, the remainder of the series did not appear.

The sequel to this article was that a libel action was brought against Dr. Friedjung by those whom he had accused. In his defence, Dr.

Friedjung laid before the court the documents upon which his article had been based. They consisted of alleged extracts from the minutes of the society *Slovenski Jug,* and official documents passing between Serbian Ministers and officials. Immediately these documents were published it became obvious that they were forgeries, composed in official Austro-Hungarian circles for the purpose of discrediting the Serbs and the Serbo-Croat coalition in Croatia, and so justifying the war of occupation which was contemplated by Aehrenthal.

In the course of the trial, which opened at Vienna on December 9th, 1909, Masaryk was called as a witness for the plaintiffs. Many of those accused by Dr. Friedjung had been his pupils in Prague, and had kept up their friendship with him after their return to their own country. Further, he had studied their aspirations and the policy of the Yugoslavs, and thus had first-hand knowledge of their intentions. He was thus enabled to state that he had the best reasons for the conviction that no disloyal conspiracy against the Monarchy existed, and that the *Slovenski Jug,* far from being a powerful secret society, was an impoverished association having the greatest difficulty in keeping its head above water. But Masaryk's most telling evi-

dence was concerned with the genuineness of the documents. Upon such matters he was an expert. He pointed out that, on a former occasion, he had spent four years in the study of the Králův Dvůr documents, and he had employed the experiences he had then gained in an examination of the documents published by Dr. Friedjung. From internal evidence alone, it must be obvious to any serious student that the documents were forgeries.

The trial ended in a compromise, brought about at the instance of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, who were naturally anxious to hush matters up. But Dr. Friedjung was forced to admit that two at least of the documents upon which he had relied in the compilation of his articles were forgeries, and the world outside, having followed the evidence, which was fully reported in the press of all countries, had no doubt that the remainder were equally unreliable. No doubts were thrown upon Dr. Friedjung's good faith. He had been supplied with the documents by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, and, receiving them from such an authoritive source, had naturally accepted them at their face value.

Masaryk was not the man to allow matters to remain at this indeterminate stage. A forgery of the first magnitude had been committed, and he

had little doubt where the guilt lay. Besides, far greater issues than mere forgery were at stake. Aehrenthal had supplied Dr. Friedjung with documents which he must have known to have been false, in order to justify a policy of Austro-Hungarian aggression. War had only just been averted in the present case, and, so long as the Austrian Government was inspired by such a policy, European peace was endangered. Masaryk felt it essential that the machinations of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office should be exposed, not only in the interest of the Yugoslavs, but of the world at large. As a Member of Parliament, he possessed the means of pressing the matter to its logical conclusion.

He had already made his position clear. Before the publication of Dr. Friedjung's article he had explained his attitude towards foreign politics at a meeting of his supporters in Prague.

"The speeches I have made, both in Parliament and elsewhere, my journalistic activities, and my efforts in Belgrad (in connection with the Zagreb trial) are easily explained," he said. "They spring from my humanitarian views. I am fervently on the side of peace, but I feared and I still fear a European conflagration. We all wish for equality and equal justice. We desire freedom in Austria; the effective assertion of the wishes of the Austrian peoples in Parliament. A freer foreign

country will always be an attraction, whether here or there."

This last sentence was an allusion to the Yugoslavs, who, in Masaryk's opinion, would naturally incline to that country, Austria or Serbia, which offered them the greatest liberty of life and of expression.

In Austria-Hungary, under the Dual System, the only body empowered to discuss foreign affairs were the Delegations, appointed from members of the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments respectively. Masaryk had a seat upon the Austrian Delegation, but the Hungarians, by clever tactics, had managed to exclude the Croats from the Hungarian Delegation. Masaryk was thus alone in his desire to explore the origin of the forgeries. He employed the months which followed the Friedjung trial in careful investigations, and when the Delegations met after a long delay on November 8th, 1910, he was in a position to open his attack. He asked Aehrenthal how it was possible that the documents had not been recognized as forgeries by the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Belgrad, by the Foreign Office in Vienna, and by the Ministry of War, whose policy had been influenced by them? He declared that the forgeries had been pre-

pared in the Belgrad Legation, and that they emanated from official sources. His statement he proceeded to amplify, stating that the documents had been prepared by one Vasič, with the knowledge of Count Forgach, the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrad. "After this accusation of mine Count Aehrenthal can only state that neither he himself nor any of his officials in the Foreign Office knew of or assisted these machinations in the Belgrad Legation."

Aehrenthal made no direct reply. He endeavoured to discredit Masaryk's sources of information on the ground that they were foreign and inimical to Austria, and denied that Count Forgach could have had any knowledge of the forgeries. This was universally regarded as an unsatisfactory answer, and Dr. Kramuř, the leader of the Young Czechs, demanded that Aehrenthal should publish the facts regarding the forgeries. On November 11th Masaryk returned to the charge, and renewed his statement that Count Forgach knew of the forging of the documents. Aehrenthal tried to brush the charge aside, but Masaryk insisted.

"Count Aehrenthal dares not and cannot say that his officials had no relatives with Vasič, he cannot deny that Count Forgach knew of these forgeries. . . . I ask His Excellency to say in so many words: 'Had Count For-

gach relations with this individual Vasič? Is Count Aehrenthal aware that Count Forgach knew of these forgeries and wittingly had relations with their forger? In other words, Count Forgach is the forger. I await an answer."

After an attempt to evade reply Aehrenthal contented himself with a declaration that Count Forgach never had dealings with Vasič. This was ridiculous, for in any case it was probable that Forgach had negotiated through some individual of the Legation. Unfortunately for Aehrenthal, Vasič surrendered to the Belgrad police, and confessed his share of the forgeries. This drew from Aehrenthal, through the columns of his official organ, the admission that communications from Vasič had been received by "a subordinate clerk" in the Legation, but that no attention had been paid to them. But, in the course of the trial of Vasič, a telegram addressed to him was produced, and proved to be in the handwriting of the Austrian Secretary of Legation. This fact, duly pressed to its logical conclusion by Masaryk in the Delegation, fully established the truth of his accusations. Although his guilt was never admitted by Aehrenthal, the world at large was convinced that the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister had not scrupled to descend to forgery to support a wholly unwarrantable policy

of aggression. And further, entirely owing to Masaryk's efforts, it was made clear that the Slav subjects of the Monarchy, far from conspiring in favour of war, were only anxious to maintain a just and equable peace.

Hitherto Masaryk had believed that the future of the Czechs lay within the boundaries of Austria —a democratized and federalized Austria, certainly, in which each nationality could be free to develop according to its own wishes. But, with this flagrant example of Aehrenthal's ruthless policy before him, he began to consider the possibility of an independent Czechoslovakia. Austria-Hungary, with her ambitions to eastward expansion, seemed to him a perpetual menace to European peace, and the probable origination of the war, which he felt could not long be delayed. In this war, which must necessarily be undertaken against the Slavs, he determined that the Czechs as a nation should not support Austria. How this was to be accomplished he could not tell. It was impossible to make detailed plans in advance. Nor could he tell in which direction the Czechs were to turn for support when the fatal hour should strike. To most Slavs Russia appeared as their great protector, but Masaryk's knowledge of Russia was far deeper than that of the majority of his fellow-countrymen. In 1887, and again

in 1889, he had visited Russia, where he met such men as Tolstoy. He had then formed an unfavourable opinion of the strength and permanence of Tsarism, and had since watched with close attention the development of affairs in the country. In April, 1910, he visited Russia for the third time, and three years later he published his great work *Russia and Europe*.

In this book, which rapidly acquired a European reputation, he deals with Russian history, philosophy, and religion. The first volume is devoted to a discussion of the teachings of the followers and forerunners of Dostojevšky. The second volume deals with Russian revolutionaries, from Bakunin to Kropotkin, and with the influence of Marxism in Russia. The third volume deals with the influence of Russian writers since Poushkin upon European Literature. In the preface to this book Masaryk states that it is the result of long study. He had been interested in Russia since his early youth, and had begun his study of the country by the perusal of Russian literature. He endeavoured to complete the knowledge so obtained by the study of Russian history and by visiting the country. During a visit to Capri in 1911 he had met Maxim Gorky, with whom he had discussed the subject so near his heart. The knowledge he had so carefully ac-

quired stood him in good stead when, in 1914, he was called upon to make the most fateful decision of his life.

During the winter term of 1910–1911, Masaryk lectured in the University for the last time. In the elections of 1911 he was returned by his constituents at the first count. From this time his political duties demanded his whole attention, and he delivered many public lectures in Prague and elsewhere upon political subjects. His constant aim was the preservation of peace, and he viewed with considerable alarm the tendencies of the European situation. The outbreak of the Balkan War in the autumn of 1912 filled him with concern. Count Berchtold, who had succeeded Aehrenthal as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, was greatly alarmed by the successes of the Allies, particularly those of Serbia, whom he regarded as the hereditary enemy of the Monarchy. He feared lest the dominant position of Austria in the Balkans should be jeopardized, and he did his best to balk Serbian ambitions as far as lay in his power. Masaryk, mistrusting this policy, and seeing in it a fresh danger of Austria becoming involved in war with Serbia, resolved if possible to act as mediator. In November and December he made three journeys to Belgrad, visiting the Serbian Prime Minister, whom he

persuaded into the expression of a willingness to negotiate. But Berchtold refused to have anything to do with the matter, and Masaryk's efforts came to nothing. Early in 1913 he reported upon his actions to a meeting of his supporters, and warned them that the obduracy of the Austro-Hungarian Government had created a very serious crisis in European affairs, and was a definite menace to peace.

It must not be supposed that Masaryk's devotion to political issues during the crucial period which preceded the outbreak of the Great War in any way obscured his philosophical tendencies. He regarded politics, using the word in its widest sense, as a science, a branch of philosophy. Humanitarianism was the basis of his belief, the practice of brotherly love, which should permit every man to lead a moral and happy life. In his view, all that man aspired to in this world was contained in the moral ideal; the ideal man was he who loved his neighbour as himself and found happiness in the welfare of others. Many have preached similar doctrines, but Masaryk is alone in extending his doctrine from the lecture-room to mundane affairs. His search for liberty, which manifested itself most strikingly in his liberation of the Czech people, was inspired by his philosophy. At the same time, he was practically-minded

enough to be aware that "liberation" might easily prove no more than the exchange of one tyranny for another. He never promised Utopia because he knew that the ideal state was beyond the power of man to achieve. But he knew, from his insight into the hearts of men and from his deep and scientific study of history, that the moral and cultural condition of the Czech people would be improved if they were allowed a full measure of self-expression. And it was towards this end that his political efforts were consistently directed.

Until events demonstrated to him the necessity for revolution, Masaryk was not a revolutionary. A reformer he was, a tireless fighter against oppression and falsehood in whatever cause they were employed. But his humanitarianism induced him to believe that men of different opinions and different culture could live in harmony together; in the special case, that Czech and German, given conditions of equality, could work together, each in their own sphere, for the welfare of Austria. No doubt such a condition would have been possible, had Austria not fallen more and more under the influence of the Pan-German idea. Once he realized that such was the case, Masaryk perceived that there could be no future for the Czechoslovaks or for the Yugoslavs, within the borders of the Monarchy. Pan-Germanism in-

volved the degradation of the Slavs to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the dominant race. Even before the outbreak of the War, which he knew could not long be delayed, he foresaw that one of its issues must be the fate of the Slav peoples of the Monarchy. The triumph of Austria, for the Czechs, must mean a renewal of the persecutions which succeeded the Battle of the White Mountain, her defeat, if the Czechs were worthy of their glorious part, should mean their liberation.

The Third Balkan War, which blasted all hopes of Slav unity in the peninsula, was to Masaryk little short of a tragedy. He exerted all his influence to reconcile the Serbs and Bulgars, and proposed to undertake a journey to Paris and London in the interests of affecting an agreement between them. But events moved too rapidly. His plans for Balkan reconciliation were swept aside by the onrush of the catastrophe. Sarajevo and the Austrian Ultimatum turned his thoughts nearer home, but, before he could take any steps to stem the gathering flood, the die was cast, and Europe was plunged into war.

CHAPTER VIII

THE outbreak of war in August, 1914, took Masaryk by surprise, in the sense that his plans for such an eventuality were still incomplete. But his decision was immediately taken. He had for many years consistently opposed the policy of the Habsburgs, not as a mere political manœuvre, but because he believed that the continuance of the Dual Monarchy was incompatible with the national existence of the Czechs. Now was the time to translate this opposition into definite revolutionary action.

Masaryk himself, in *The Making of a State,* has given an account of his feelings during the anxious weeks of the summer of 1914.

"I was on holiday with my family at Schandau, in Saxony, when the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo on June 28th, 1914. Even before this outrage I had, in my heart of hearts, expected war, though I dreaded the final decision which war would force upon me—the decision to translate into action my antagonism to Austria and Austrianism. After the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia on July 23rd, I was therefore in a state of constant tension. Yet I still hoped for peace. I assured my acquaintances that mobilization was merely a threat, and that

the responsible statesmen would meet and settle the conflict. From mobilization to the actual waging of war the way might be long. Not even the declaration of war did I take to be the last word. People called me an incorrigible pacifist and idealist. But my last hope vanished when England declared war on Germany (August 4th), though I still fancied there were traces of hesitation in the German ultimatum to Belgium, and afterwards in the German proposals of August 9th to the Belgian Government for a peaceful settlement. I thought they showed a certain respect for the opinion of the world. Of course, all these fancies were born of futile reluctance to take the plunge. Even a politician sets store by his neck."

But Masaryk, convinced as he was that the decisive hour had struck for the Czech people, was not the man to take a sudden plunge without a careful and minute examination of the situation. For years his influence and his teaching had been spreading through the mass of the Czech nation. He had recalled to them their past, had shown them the path by which they might reach moral and political liberty. How far had the national spirit been awakened? What action would the Czechs themselves take, faced by a conflict of which few alone of them could understand the full significance?

It was upon the answer to these questions, not less than upon the external circumstances, that

the nature of Masaryk's activities must depend. But they were questions that time and close observation alone could answer. Hemmed in on every side by Germans, enthusiastic for a German war, the Czechs, from a purely military point of view, were powerless. Bohemia could have been converted into a vast prison-camp within a few days. It was not so much by their deeds as by their attitude that the spirit of the people could be determined.

One thing alone was certain: war on the side of Austria could never be popular among the Czech people as long as their fellow-Slavs were among the ranks of the enemy. The racial feeling of the western Slavs was well awake by 1914; Masaryk himself had done much to foster it by his activities after the second Balkan War. But, as has been seen, this tendency towards Slav racial consciousness had led the Czechs to look upon Russia as their great protector, and, with the outbreak of war, the vision of Russia overshadowed the thoughts of many of the most far-seeing among the Czechs. Russia stood as a colossus in the East, vast and unconquerable. Even in England, in 1914, many people believed that the function of the western Allies was merely to hold the German armies until the Russian "steam roller" should advance with ever-

increasing impetus and crush them out of existence. It was therefore natural that among the Czechs, the kinsmen of the Russians, this theory should have been firmly fixed in the popular mind.

The early successes of the Russian troops turned the theory into a conviction. Russia was about to fulfil her legendary mission among the Slavs. The armies of the Tsar were on their way to liberate Bohemia, and all that was necessary was to wait passively until the joyful moment of deliverance should arrive. It became a popular saying in Prague that the market-women were saving their best geese until the Russians should arrive. Almost alone among Czech patriots Masaryk maintained his scepticism, not only of Russian intentions towards Bohemia, but even of the ability of Russian arms to perform the task. He knew only too well how feeble was the interest felt in Russia for those Slavs who did not belong to the Orthodox Church, and how deep a gulf existed between the civilization and the culture of the Eastern and Western Slavs respectively. From the very first he determined to base his actions upon an appeal to the Western Powers, to whom the Czechs were linked by a common culture and by common democratic ideas. But, in spite of his own per-

sonal convictions, he did nothing actively to combat the powerful pro-Russian sympathies of the people. For one thing, these sympathies served as an estranging influence between the Czechs and the Habsburg régime, and for another anything that might tend towards discouragement was to be carefully avoided. As Masaryk has said himself:

"While I was assuredly right in looking upon Russia with a sceptical eye, it was too late to criticize her publicly or to reduce our pro-Russianism to proper proportions. Even before the War my 'open-eyed love' for Russia—as our poet Neruda might have termed it—had often been misunderstood. Now, amid the war excitement, it would not have been understood at all. Yet I was no whit behind our pro-Russians in my love of Russia, that is to say, of the Russian nation and people; but love cannot and ought not to silence reason. A cool, clear head is needed in war and revolution, for wars are not waged or revolutions made by imagination and enthusiasm, feeling and instinct alone. I trod in the footsteps of Havlíček, who first showed us Russia as she is, and I would let no man and nothing lead me astray. I knew well when, how and how far even a democratic politician—precisely because he is democratic —could and should go with the majority and be guided by general opinion."

The danger of the popular belief in the might of Russia, and in her mission as deliverer of the

Slavs, lay in the incentive these beliefs formed to do nothing and wait. Masaryk, from his earliest days, had preached the doctrine that only by their own efforts could the Czechoslovaks regain their liberty, and even the tremendous episode of the War could not shake his conviction. Action, immediate action, was essential; the duty of the statesman was to decide the lines upon which this action was to be pursued. The ordinary methods of armed revolution were not to be thought of. Although it might have been possible to foment outbreaks in various parts of the country, these could have been suppressed without difficulty by the military authorities. But the greatest argument against such attempts was that they would have afforded an admirable pretext for the introduction of martial law into Bohemia, with its inevitable sequel of wholesale arrests. Upon the first symptom of armed revolution, the Czech leaders would one and all have been deprived of their liberty, and thus all hope of the ultimate attainment of Czechoslovak freedom would have been nipped in the bud.

What then remained? In *The Making of a State* Masaryk sums up the task which lay before him in those fateful days of 1914.

"When war broke out we had to gauge the European situation, to estimate the strength of the two groups of

belligerents, to judge, in the light of history, whither things were tending, to make up our minds and to act —above all, to act.

"Inasmuch as my political outlook was derived from Palacký and Havlíček, I, like our other political men, had sought for arguments to justify our connection with Austria; and, as may be seen from my studies on the evolution of Czech aspirations, I, like the leaders of our national revival, had been tormented by the problem of our being so small a nation. Attentive readers will, however, notice that, as in the case of our other political men, I began early to waver between loyalty and antagonism to Austria. Hence my constant pondering over the idea of revolution. Unlike Palacký, I had already reached and expressed the conclusion that, if democratic and social movements should gain strength in Europe, we might hope to win independence. In later years, especially after 1907, the better I got to know Austria and the Habsburg dynasty, the more was I driven into opposition. This dynasty which, in Vienna and in Austria, seemed so powerful, was morally and physically degenerate. Thus Austria became for me both a moral and a political problem. . . .

"My object was to de-Austrianize our people thoroughly while they were still in Austria. What our eventual form of government might be and to what foreign State we might ultimately be attached, seemed to me, as things then were, matters of secondary importance. I felt I was fighting against political and educational narrowness, backwardness and parochialism; and I fought simultaneously on two fronts—against 'Vienna' and against 'Prague.' Czech Radicalism and its tactics seemed to me agitation rather than genuine warfare;

and when the hour struck, when the situation of the world changed and fate compelled us to decide, it was not my opponents who took the decision and transformed it into action. . . .

"I need hardly say that I did not look upon the Great War as a struggle between Germans and Slavs, although Austrian hatred of Serbia was the excuse for and, in part, the cause of it. . . . I saw more than this in the War. . . . In the union of many nations under Western leadership lies proof that the War was not merely racial—that it was the first grand effort to give a unified organization to the whole world and to mankind. Racial aspirations were subordinated to the general cause of civilization and served its end.

"In virtue of our whole history our place was on the side of our Allies. Therefore, after analysing the European situation and estimating the probable course of the War, I decided to oppose Austria actively, in the expectation that the Allies would win and that our espousal of their cause would bring us freedom.

"The decision was not easy. I knew and felt how fateful it was; but one thing was clear—we could not be passive in so great an hour. No matter how good our right might be, it had to be upheld by deed if it was to be real; and, since we could not withstand Austria at home, we must withstand her abroad. There our main task would be to win goodwill for ourselves and our national cause, to establish relations with the politicians, statesmen and Governments of the Allies, to organize united action among our people in Allied countries and, above all, to create an army from among Czech prisoners of war. . . .

"In all this thinking and deciding upon the fight

against Austria, there rang through the depths of my soul the questions: Are we ripe for the struggle, are we mature for freedom, can we administer and preserve an independent State made up of the Bohemian Lands, Slovakia and considerable non-Czech and non-Slovak minorities? Are there enough of us so trained politically as to understand the true meaning of the War and the task of our people in it? In this world-historic hour do we grasp its significance? Are we again fit to act, really to act? Shall we make good, once for all, the disaster that overwhelmed us as a nation in the Battle of the White Mountain three centuries ago? Can we vanquish in ourselves the influence of Austria and of the centuries of subjection to her? Is the hour of fulfilment of Comenius' Testament at hand: 'I, too, believe before God that, when the storms of wrath have passed, to thee shall return the rule over thine own things. O Czech people!' "

Such was Masaryk's decision, while every Czech patriot looked to him at this time of crisis, waiting for a lead which should determine his own actions. To the more impatient, ignorant that Masaryk's mind was already made up, it seemed as though time was slipping by and that the opportunity would be lost. Dr. Beneš tells the story of his own feelings.[1] He had long before the War felt the influence of Masaryk, and now looked upon him as the nation's natural leader. An ar-

[1] *My War Memories*, by Edward Beneš (London: Allen and Unwin).

dent patriot, he decided, about September 10th, 1914, to join the staff of *Čas* as an unpaid contributor, feeling that this was a first step towards accomplishing that undefined something which he, in common with so many others, felt to be vitally necessary. And then he learnt that not only had Masaryk a constructive policy, but that he had already put it into operation.

"I intended to visit Professor Masaryk and tell him my opinion of what was taking place. I was exceedingly dissatisfied with the events and conditions at home. Among the leaders there were still marked traces of quarrels . . . while public opinion was in a state of confusion. The arrests of a number of people had, on the whole, not produced any reaction. With few exceptions the Press was behaving badly, expressing its fulsome approval of the mobilization which had proceeded without a hitch. Certain of the parties distinguished themselves in this respect to such a degree that it filled me with repugnance and shame. At the same time I was observing the advance of the Germans in the West and the first Austrian failures in Serbia. In spite of the overwhelming advance of the Germans on Paris, when I again recapitulated all my memories of Paris, of the spirit of France, of the moral qualities of the French people, I was filled with hope, if not with certainty, that the French would rally and hold out. And I felt that we could not continue in our present attitude, that the attitude of our Press and our passive policy were hopeless. Something would have to be done.

"This was what I told Professor Masaryk, whom I

met while on my way to his house. The end of our long conversation on events at home, on the situation of Germany, France, England and Russia, which took place on that pleasant autumn day on the slope of Letná, with its delightful view of the whole beauty of Prague, was that Professor Masaryk informed me that he had already started working and that we should therefore work together."

This was the beginning of an alliance which was to have such far-reaching effects in the future. But, before dealing with this alliance and its activities, it will be necessary to deal briefly with the events which followed the outbreak of war. The majority of the Czech people, cowed by the menace of the Austrian bayonets, accepted the War as a disagreeable necessity. As the Czech poet Machar, who was subsequently imprisoned for his patriotic activities, expressed it, "as the mobilization showed, they loyally rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." But signs of the unpopularity of the War were already manifest. Czech soldiers called to the colours had a song in which were the words "We are going to fight the Russians, but we don't know why." The Austro-Hungarian War Loan met with very little support in the Slav provinces. The crowds assembled outside the newspaper offices displayed their sympathies by the

delight with which they perused bulletins announcing that the German armies "were retiring to previously prepared positions," and the grief which they evinced at those announcing German successes in France and Belgium. On the surface all was quiet, so quiet that, as we have seen, men like Beneš were dismayed at the tranquillity of their countrymen.

But beneath this calm surface the ferment was working. In spite of the people's acceptance of the War, in spite of their tendency passively to await the coming of the Russians, the national spirit was slowly awakening. Men spoke guardedly and in whispers of the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, of the consequent achievement of Czechoslovak freedom. Public discussion of such matters was impossible. Although the drastic methods of repression subsequently employed by the authorities had not yet been fully put into force in Bohemia, a strict censorship had been imposed, and individual patriots had been imprisoned for a too open expression of their views.

Masaryk, who had been delayed by the congestion of the railways due to mobilization, did not reach Prague till the second week of August.

"On my way back to Prague I observed the Czech soldiers more closely and spoke to a sergeant-major. We

were near Mělník, and I dropped a few sceptical remarks about the way the War might go. I can still see the poor fellow's big eyes as he looked at me and asked sadly, 'What can we do?' Yes, indeed, what could we, what must we do? I knew what we, what I, had to do; it was becoming daily clearer.

"Prague was politically deserted, all individual and party activity being suspended, but we Members of Parliament met and talked about trifles, for our minds were far away from the Chamber. On leaving Prague our Czech soldiers had given vent to their anti-Austrian feelings, and we heard that, in the army, there was insubordination among them. Soon came reports of military severity and even of executions. Our men were being punished for what I, a Member of Parliament, had advocated. Could I, ought I to do less than the simple soldier-citizen whose anti-Austrian and Slavonic feelings I had encouraged?"

Masaryk's first concern upon reaching Prague was to sound the leaders of the various Czech parties, as a result of which "I concluded that the great majority in all the parties whose leaders I had consulted would remain anti-Austrian, even if individual leaders or groups should side with Austria." But his great desire was to get in touch with the Western Allies, and for this purpose he made use of an American citizen who was then in Prague and about to return home through England. He followed this up by a visit to Rotterdam, early in September, for the ostensible purpose of

seeing his sister-in-law off to America from that port. From the security of a neutral country he was enabled to communicate direct with friends in London and Paris.

It was of these activities that Masaryk was able to speak to Dr. Beneš at their memorable meeting. Beneš declared his enthusiastic approval of them, but there were many, even among the most fervent Czech patriots, who had misgivings as to the course which Masaryk was pursuing. Even in the office of *Čas,* for instance, his insistence upon Russia as a broken reed was received with incredulity. It was said in jest that he would be the first to be hanged when the Russians entered Prague. Beyond this circle criticism was even more severe. Dr. Beneš has given an account of an interview between himself and Dr. Šmeral, the editor of *Právo Lidu,* the organ of the Social Democratic Party, and himself one of the leaders of that party. At this interview Dr. Beneš explained something of Masaryk's views, and was received with incredulity and scorn.

"I have long remembered Šmeral's reply as one of the things which affected me most deeply during the War. It was also a striking proof of the aberration of many Czechs before the War, and—what was much worse—also during the War. . . .

"Dr. Šmeral plainly informed me that we were mad,

that Masaryk was leading the nation to another 'White Mountain' (those were the actual words he used), that a politician who was responsible for a large party and, in fact, for the whole nation, could not and must not engage in such a gambling policy as that of Professor Masaryk. Besides, the plans which we had formed were fantastic. The Quadruple Alliance was not concerned about us and was not thinking about us. Dr. Šmeral asked me to show him even a single utterance which would make it evident that the Allies were seriously concerned with our cause. He repeatedly asked where were the slightest guarantees from the Entente which would justify us in such a policy. But when I objected that it was also a moral question for us whether we were to associate ourselves with Vienna and Austrian dishonesty and violence or not, and by no means merely a question of political opportunism, he turned to me and said: 'You may declare that I am a cynic, that I am a materialist, that I am heaven knows what, but politics is not a moral affair, it is deceit, cynicism, intrigue, fraud, violence, crime if you like. All this is being used against us, we must reckon with it, and for that reason I cannot be a party to your fantastic scheme which can be attempted and defended only by irresponsible persons.' "

The contrast between this attitude and Masaryk's passionate devotion to truth, morality and humanity should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. But Masaryk was not to be deterred by criticism or by the lukewarmness of those who did not as yet see eye to eye with him. Least of all was he disturbed by the personal danger which he was

incurring. Yet he well knew the responsibilities which his decision involved. In the words of Mr. Wickham Steed:

"To Masaryk and to the Czechs the name 'Austria' meant every device that could kill the soul of a people, corrupt it with a modicum of material well-being, deprive it of freedom of conscience and of thought, undermine its sturdiness, sap its steadfastness and turn it from the pursuit of its ideal. Since the Habsburgs, with their Army, their Church, the Police and their Bureaucracy, were the living embodiment of this system, Masaryk, after long hesitation, turned against them and opposed them in the name of every tradition, conviction and principle he held dear. He knew the dimensions of the venture. For his people, the price of failure would have been oppression more fierce, demoralization more dire; for him it would have meant a choice between death on a Habsburg gallows and lifelong exile."

Masaryk's first journey to Holland had been merely tentative. In October it was followed by another, which was productive of the first definite results. He had on this occasion a conversation with Dr. Seton-Watson in Rotterdam, during which the whole position was fully discussed between them. Masaryk explained his programme, and Seton-Watson subsequently contrived that this should be transmitted in the form of a Memorandum to the Allied Governments. During this visit Masaryk was also enabled to establish the

beginnings of a propaganda, by which the world should be enabled to learn the attitude of the Czechs towards the War, and their sympathy with the Allied cause.

But already it was apparent that if Masaryk was to carry out to the uttermost his policy of appeal to Austria's enemies, his true place was outside the iron circle of the Central Empires, not within it. The time had come to perfect an organization which was as yet only in the embryo stage. Masaryk's destiny was to be the prophet of the Czechoslovaks in the Allied countries, but it was necessary that before his departure a centre of activity should be established in Prague, in order to control as far as possible events in his absence. Masaryk assembled those of his friends whom he knew that he could trust absolutely, chief among them Dr. Beneš. To these men he unfolded his plans without reserve.

"Whatever happened, we must carry on an active opposition to the Government, otherwise we should obtain nothing from Vienna even if Austria were not victorious. And if Austria were to lose, we also should have to be called to account. The various political possibilities were discussed. Masaryk admitted the possibility of defeat, but this was not to be regarded as a reason for adopting a passive attitude. For political and moral reasons, active opposition to the Government must be carried on, whatever the outcome of events. We also discussed our

possible independence, the frontiers of the State, measures to be adopted at home, the need for work abroad. Masaryk finally announced his decision to go abroad and work there."

A skeleton organization was immediately improvised, which subsequently developed into a secret association known as the Maffia. This having been done, Masaryk felt at liberty to depart upon his pilgrimage. But first it was necessary to have a clear and detailed programme to set before the world. Already Masaryk had a sure and exact knowledge of the aim towards which his efforts were to be directed; namely, the establishment of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia as an independent Czechoslovakia. With a thoroughness characteristic of him, he even went so far as to prepare a map of the proposed State, with its frontiers minutely sketched out upon it.

But Masaryk felt that it was not sufficient for him to regard the question of Czechoslovak freedom from the Slav point of view alone. He determined to learn what he could about it from the Austrian side, and for this purpose he walked boldly into the lion's den. He had already, as he very well knew, done enough to bring him to an Austrian gallows should his activities be discovered; but, nevertheless, he sought an interview with Count Thun, the Lord Lieutenant of Bo-

hemia. He had heard that Thun had already received from Vienna a list of the people whom he was to arrest, and that his own name appeared upon it.

Masaryk's visit not unnaturally took the Lord Lieutenant by surprise, but it served its purpose, in that Masaryk received the impression that nothing had as yet been decided by the authorities regarding him. Besides, the very fact that he had taken such a step, and had reported to Count Thun some of his observations in Holland and Germany, served to allay any suspicion which might exist concerning him.

Not content with his visit to Count Thun, Masaryk took the audacious step of going to Vienna, and of there holding a conversation with Koerber, who had been Prime Minister during the first years of the century and was to hold that office again in two years' time, after the murder of Sturgkh.

"Our conversation lasted more than two hours and covered the whole situation. I inquired especially about some of the People at Court; and my chief question was, 'If Austria wins, will Vienna be capable of carrying out the necessary reforms?' After much reflection and consideration of the persons involved, Koerber said decidedly: 'No! Victory would strengthen the old system, and a new system under the young heir-apparent, the

Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, would be no better than the old. The soldiers would have the upper hand after a victorious war and they would centralize and Germanize. It would be absolutism with Parliamentary embellishments.' 'What about Berlin?' I asked. 'Will Germany be wise enough to make her ally adopt reforms?' 'Hardly,' was Koerber's reply."

On December 17th Masaryk left Prague, not to return again until December 21st, 1918, when he entered the city as President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

CHAPTER IX

SURELY no man can ever have set out upon the great adventure of his life with more unfavourable prospects, so far as human judgment could estimate, than did Masaryk. Beyond the confines of his own country he was no more than a name, and that only to the few. The general public outside Bohemia knew nothing of this Professor-politician, who claimed to represent a nation of which the very existence had been forgotten by the world. Yet, single-handed, in the midst of the turmoil of a great war, when men's minds were too eagerly concentrated upon the immediate issues to make it easy for them to receive fresh impressions, he was to preach a crusade of which the object and the goal were not yet fully understood even by his own countrymen.

His aim was to convince the Allies of the wisdom of supporting the Czechoslovak cause. But what arguments could he plead in favour of his contention? For three centuries Bohemian independence had been lost; the nation itself had been so thoroughly merged in "Austria" that there were few who still remembered its history as an independent State. The deliberate policy of the

Habsburgs had been to suppress the very memory of the ancient Czechoslovak freedom, and only too well had this policy succeeded. To most people in the Allied countries a Czech was an "Austrian," and as such a subject of an enemy State. The Western Allies, locked in a death-struggle with Germany, their principal enemy, had other things to think about than the liberation of a small and inconspicuous nation, which could offer them nothing tangible in return for their support.

Besides, even should the Allies recognize the justice of the Czechoslovak aspirations towards freedom, would they consider it expedient to acknowledge these aspirations and to encourage them? Throughout the war period the Allied soldiers and statesmen were perpetually seeking a means of circumventing the deadlock upon the Western Front. Since no progress could be made in frontal warfare, some means must be discovered of outflanking Germany, of striking at her within her guard. And what more promising scheme presented itself than that of detaching her from her Allies? A large and influential body of opinion existed, in England especially, which held that Austria, having been dragged at the heels of Germany, was far less guilty than her neighbour. If only a separate peace could be

made with Austria, untold possibilities would present themselves for dealing Germany a blow which must bring her to her knees.

Thus the idea of a separate peace with Austria was never entirely absent from the minds of the leading men of the Western Allies. Time and again tentative and indecisive efforts were made in this direction. And in this connection one thing was clear from the first. If Austria were to be persuaded to abandon the conflict, from which she hoped so much, it was essential that she should be guaranteed from subsequent dismemberment. Indeed, in all the negotiations which took place between representatives of Austria and of the Allies, it was expressly laid down that the integrity of the dominions of the Emperor should be guaranteed "in their present extent." That this guarantee should be given was felt by all to be absolutely necessary as a preliminary to the detachment of Austria from the side of Germany. While hopes of the possibilitiy of such detachment existed, how could the Allies listen to a man whose policy involved the total disruption of the Austrian Empire?

Nor, at the commencement of his crusade, could Masaryk produce credentials authorizing him to speak for a united Czechoslovak nation. He appeared upon the Allied stage alone, an

elderly Professor accompanied only by his youngest daughter. Behind him, in Prague, was no visible organization. A group of men, unknown beyond their own country, fired only by his own enthusiasm, laboured furtively beneath the surface, in perpetual peril of arrest and imprisonment. Many of the Czech politicians openly disavowed him, and every utterance of such a kind was eagerly broadcasted by the Austrian press. Time and again, as Masaryk himself records, he felt the ground swaying dangerously beneath his feet. But it is characteristic of him that, even in his moments of greatest disappointment, he was ready to make every allowance for those who did not possess his own unswerving courage and breadth of vision.

These, then, were some of the difficulties which faced Masaryk when he entered upon his self-imposed pilgrimage for the liberation of his country. But, as he had already shown, he was not the man to allow difficulties of a material nature to stand in his way. He knew that behind him stood the real Czechoslovak nation, not perhaps even the majority of those who had hitherto been most prominent in public life, but the great inarticulate mass of the people itself. He knew that his cause was just, and that justice must, sooner or later, prevail with those before whom he had to

plead. And finally he had an implicit faith in the future, a faith as profound as that which inspired Moses to lead the chosen people to the Promised Land.

On leaving Prague, Masaryk journeyed first to Italy, which was at that time still neutral. Once in Rome he was enabled to get into touch, not only with Allied diplomatists such as Sir James Rennell Rodd, but with representatives of the Southern Slavs, who, like the Czechoslovaks, were beginning to work for the attainment of their freedom. It was, indeed, the activity of these Southern Slavs, and the fact that many of their leaders had openly joined the cause of liberty, that first brought home to Masaryk the apparent weakness of his own position. "I was," he records, "the only Czech Member of Parliament outside the country—to my regret, because a Member of Parliament is thought, in the West, to be a more serious politician than a professor." Masaryk, ready to sacrifice all personal considerations in his country's cause, promptly had cards printed, as a concession to this Western point of view, upon which he described himself as "Professor T. G. Masaryk, Czech Member of Parliament, President of the Czech Progressive Group in the Austrian Reichstrat." Loathing as he did any form of ostentation, the production of these flam-

boyant visiting-cards caused him considerable qualms.

In Rome Masaryk met an old friend, M. Svatkovsky, a Russian of Czech descent, then employed as a representative of the Russian Official Telegraph Agency. Through Svatkovsky he was enabled to convey his views to certain circles in St. Petersburg, but he found that his friend shared his own views as to the value of Russian co-operation. "With the Russophilism of our people in Prague he (Svatkovsky) did not agree," he records. "And he aptly remarked that a Russian Grand Duke, installed as ruler in the Royal Castle there, would mean champagne and French mistresses." Since Masaryk had steadily combated throughout his life the tendency towards such indulgences, Svatkovsky's conversation confirmed him in the view, based upon his extensive knowledge of Russia, that the salvation of the Czechoslovaks was to be sought in the West rather than in the East.

During his stay in Italy, Masaryk, more than ever anxious about the state of affairs at home, entertained the idea of revisiting Prague. But Beneš and his devoted band contrived to dissuade him from a step which must have led to his immediate arrest. Through the subterranean channels which they had already established they had

learnt that the Austrian authorities had kept a very close watch upon his activities, and were aware that he had been in touch with the "rebellious" Yugoslavs. Abandoning his project, therefore, Masaryk decided to go to Switzerland, whence communication with Prague was considerably easier, and he reached Geneva in January, 1915.

He soon discovered that Geneva was an almost ideal spot from which to organize the work he had to do. The newspapers of the whole world were there at his disposal; in Switzerland were many Czech colonies, the members of which were familiar with his teachings and eager to assist him in his campaign. But the first weeks of his residence in Switzerland were saddened by the news which he received from home. His eldest son, Herbert, had died of typhus caught from some Galician refugees for whom he was caring. His death was a bitter blow to Masaryk, a blow which was accentuated by the venom of his political enemies. "My old Clerical opponents did not fail to send me from Prague their coarse and malicious anonymous letters. 'The finger of God!' they said. To me it seemed rather an injunction not to abate or to grow weary in my efforts."

Nor was this the only blow. The Austrian authorities were spreading wide their net, and

shortly afterwards Masaryk's daughter Alice was arrested. She had already been of service to the cause, and her arrest was thus a double blow to her father. Of almost equally sinister import was the fate of others. Kramář, Rašín, Madame Beneš, many of the staff of *Čas,* all these were arrested and imprisoned. It was of the utmost importance that those who were still at liberty should be saved to carry on the work of organization. Beneš, with an utter disregard for his own personal safety, carried on the work of the "Maffia" for several months. At last, when he knew for certain that instructions for his arrest had been issued, he determined on escape, and, after an adventurous journey, joined Masaryk in Geneva. By this time the complexion of affairs had changed, and the Czechoslovak organization abroad was in need of his active assistance.

Masaryk's first task in Geneva was to co-ordinate the activities already commenced by individual groups of Czechoslovaks throughout the world. In Berne, in Paris, in America, in Moscow, even in the Balkans, attempts were being made, in some cases very clumsily, to express the idea of Czechoslovak freedom. The leaders of these movements were not in all cases equal to the task which they had set themselves, and more than one of them allowed their aims to be ob-

scured by petty jealousies. In regard to Russia, especially, Masaryk found himself still confronted by the vague Russophil tendencies which he had already condemned. Attempts were even made to get behind his policy, as when, in response to his repeated appeals, certain Czech public men joined him in Switzerland. One at least of these did his utmost to wreck Masaryk's policy of appeal to the Western Allies, and contrived to influence the Tsarist Government against him by a distorted account of his views. But Masaryk's personality, coupled with his steadfast determination, was powerful enough to overcome all obstacles. By the summer of 1915 he had created what he termed "a single front," and had the satisfaction of knowing that his authority was recognized everywhere, except perhaps among a few Russophil Czechs who were still pursuing their vague and unsubstantial dreams in Russia.

During this period it had been necessary for him to visit Paris and London. In both capitals he personally settled the differences which had arisen between the organizers of the Czechoslovak movements. His complete and unswerving confidence in the ultimate success of the cause for which all were working was sufficient to inspire others with something of his own spirit. Nor was

his influence, even at this early stage, confined to his own compatriots. In London he prepared a memorandum for Sir Edward Grey, as he then was, which was later to have a decisive effect upon the British attitude towards the Czechoslovaks. Masaryk returned from his visit to the Western capitals more than ever convinced that his policy was justified.

Hitherto he had taken no active steps in opposition to Austria. Among the reasons for his delay in making a definite declaration, the advisability of which was urged upon him by his associates in Prague, had been the lack of funds.

"Money is the sinews of all war; and, for the moment, I had little. None came from Prague, and communications with America were slow. Without money I could not and would not begin to act officially; for action, once begun, must not slacken, but must increase and be intensified. Therefore I began by educational propaganda."

It is characteristic of Masaryk that this propaganda should have begun with a reference to Hus. To his mind Czechoslovak liberty was bound up with the principles of the Reformation. He was not seeking to institute a new order of things; he was merely endeavouring to recover for his people something that had long been lost. Hus was the symbol of the ancient sturdy Bo-

hemian freedom; his memory was the basis upon which the modern Czechoslovak nation should take its stand.

"On July 4th, 1915, I spoke of John Hus to our own people and to some Germans at Zürich; and, on July 6th, the fourth centenary of his martyrdom, Professor Denis and I held a meeting in the Hall of the Reformation at Geneva. . . . In following years we organized successful Hus celebrations everywhere. On July 6th, 1916, for example, references were made to Hus and the Czechs in all English churches. Even in Austria the Geneva celebration of 1915 hit the mark, the *Neue Freie Presse* denouncing it as 'the first Czech declaration of war against Austria.' "

It was not to be supposed that the Austrian Government would allow Masaryk's work to proceed unchallenged. In Bohemia a régime of arrest and imprisonment had already been instituted, which rapidly developed into persecution of all those suspected of friendship for Masaryk. Machar, a poet and man of letters, who suffered under it in common with many others, has recorded that "no persecution since that following the Battle of the White Mountain was more cruel than this military one carried out in the Kingdom of Bohemia in the years 1915–1916." It is significant that Machar owed his first domiciliary visit by the Austrian authorities to the suspicion

that he had contributed verses on Hus to one of the Czechoslovak papers published abroad.

Even in Geneva spies dogged Masaryk's every step.

"One came from Prague straight to my hotel. I had, however, been warned of his coming—a proof that our subterranean communications and the 'Maffia' in Prague were working well. I asked him to see me the very next day and put him all sorts of questions, in the most innocent fashion, about Prague and the police. My younger comrades had plenty of fun with him. Some of them won him over to our side and made a double traitor out of him. More interesting was an Austrian officer, a Moravian by birth, who pretended to be a deserter and offered me an invention to enable airmen to hit a given target. I put him in touch with the French at Annemasse, but in Paris they thought his invention worthless and kept him at a distance. He told me a long romantic story which I verified and found false. Then he evaporated. In the spring of 1915 one of my arms began to give trouble. Small abscesses began to appear on my shoulder. My doctor ascribed them to poisoning, and our own people thought the Germans were trying to get at me through my laundry."

Masaryk describes this last incident as being hardly worth mentioning. His own safety did not weigh with him where the propagation of the cause was concerned. But it was undoubtedly a symptom of the uneasiness which his campaign

was causing to the Austrians, who were beginning to realize that only a decisive victory for the Central Powers would enable them to retain the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav provinces. This victory already seemed at least doubtful. The only alternative before them was negotiation for a separate peace, under guarantee from the Allies of the integrity of Austria. Thus began that long thread of intrigue which was to cause Masaryk so much uneasiness and even alarm. In a neutral country he felt himself too far removed from the actual seat of affairs. The time had arrived for him to come to grips with the Allied statesmen in Paris and London.

His English friends had for long been urging this course upon him. He himself knew that, in his own words, Paris was the military and London the political capital of the Allies. He waited only until Beneš had joined him, and then, on September 5th, 1915, he left Switzerland for Paris, whence, after a stay of some three weeks, he proceeded to London.

Masaryk's arrival in London was almost unnoticed, except by his friends and by the police, to whom, as an "Austrian," he was merely an enemy alien, to be regarded with the gravest suspicion. It was only through the urgent repre-

sentations of his English friends that he escaped arrest and internment. That danger averted, there remained the problem of how he was to support himself. He and those associated with him had resolved not to become a burden upon the funds now being supplied by the Czechoslovak colonies in America, and he resolved to earn his living as best he could. Through the influence of his friends in England he secured an appointment as Professor of Slavonic Studies at King's College, a post which carried with it a small salary. In addition to this, he found time to write articles for the press, which brought in a certain amount of money. But, even so, he was compelled to exercise the strictest economy. "I lived in Hampstead, on the edge of the country, and went into town on the top of an omnibus, making up for the loss of time by watching life in the streets. If it rained or snowed, I went by Underground. Taxis or a motor I could not afford." To Masaryk, frugal by nature, such an existence was not unwelcome. Lost among the crowds of the great city, he was enabled to carry on his work effectively and without attracting undesirable attention.

He immediately perceived that an essential preliminary to the proclamation of his country's

cause was propaganda. The Czechoslovaks were almost unknown in England, as in France; it was before all things necessary to explain their existence and their aims to the Allied peoples. Masaryk, with his almost fanatical devotion to the truth, laid down at once the lines upon which this propaganda was to be directed. There must be no tampering with facts, no indulgence in extravagant statements which could not be fully substantiated. Masaryk's views on the methods by which propaganda should be conducted reveal his essential honesty of mind.

"In the psychology of propaganda one point is important—not to imagine that people can be converted to a political idea merely by stating it vigorously and enthusiastically or by harping on its details; the chief thing is to rouse interest in your cause as best you can, indirectly no less than directly. Political agitation often frightens or alienates thoughtful people whom art and literature may attract. Sometimes a single phrase, well used at the right moment, is enough. . . .

"Another weighty point is this—propaganda must be honest. Exaggeration is harmful and lies are worse. Some among us thought that the whole art of politics consists in gulling people. Until we stopped them, they tried to disseminate 'patriotic' untruths, forgetting that falsehoods can be exposed. . . . A third rule is not to praise one's own goods, like inferior commercial travellers. Intelligent and honest policy must accompany intelligent and honest propaganda."

Public attention in England was first drawn to Masaryk by his inaugural lecture at King's College on October 9th, 1915. The subject of this lecture was "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis," and at its delivery Lord Robert Cecil took the chair as the representative of the Prime Minister. Masaryk maintained that the liberation of the peoples of Austria-Hungary was a necessary and desirable object of the War, and showed that there was no cause for alarm at the bogey of the "Balkanization of Europe." The lecture was very widely reported, and had the effect of arousing considerable interest in the Czechoslovak cause among the peoples of the Allied countries.

But, in the midst of his propagandist activities, Masaryk was perpetually worried by the difficulty of impressing the need for a common policy upon his more irresponsible compatriots. The old Russophil spirit was by no means dead. Many influential Czechs, both in Bohemia and abroad, still believed in Russia as the protector of the Slavs, and envisaged a liberated Bohemia as "a Russian satrapy." With this view Masaryk disagreed more vehemently as time went on. The course of the War had already shown him that Russia was unreliable from a military point of view. Further, he had proof that the Tsarist Gov-

ernment had very little sympathy with Czechoslovak aspirations, or, indeed, with any suggestion for the disruption of the Austrian Empire. But the Russophil Czechs still persisted in their dreams. Even when a public declaration of Czechoslovak hostility to Austria was at last issued on November 14th, 1915, and signed by Masaryk and others as representatives of "The Czech Committee Abroad," there were still some who doubted the wisdom of the policy expressed in it.

In spite of the many exacting demands upon his time, Masaryk found leisure to become acquainted not only with the leading personalities in England, but with the whole trend of English life and thought. It was his firm conviction that it is impossible to carry out propaganda in any country without an intimate knowledge of the characteristics of its people. It was natural that his own philosophical leanings should incline him first towards a study of English philosophy—"I soon got to know it pretty thoroughly," he records. But, not content with this, he delved deeply into such subjects as contemporary fiction, from Conrad and Arnold Bennett to Hutchinson and Lawrence. His endeavour was to learn the true nature of English culture, not only for his present purposes as a propagandist, but in order to

find in it lessons for the guidance of his own people

He was, of course, already aware of the leading traits of the Anglo-Saxon character, and had frequently before the War cited it in illustration of his teaching. A single example will show how he used it in connection with his doctrine of humanitarianism.

"Here, even more than in England or America, every one is anxious to get rich; and, once this object is achieved, he hoards his wealth. The Englishman and the American are also anxious to get rich; but, once they have acquired wealth, they make wide and generous use of their fortunes, as may be seen from the great number of foundations, at universities and elsewhere. Here, anyone who gives a few crowns expects in exchange a permanent national altar in the Press, and he gets it."

Now, upon closer observation, Masaryk saw in England further evidence of the existence of the humanitarian ideal.

"English culture I hold to be the most progressive and, as I was able to see during the War, the most humane. Not that I think all the English are angels. But in their civilization the Anglo-Saxons—and this is true of America too—have expressed humanitarian ideals the most carefully in theory, and have practised them in a higher degree than other nations. In English views of the War and in its conduct this was evident. The English

soldiers were better looked after and better treated than those of other armies. The sanitary service and military hygiene were particularly good. The claims of 'conscientious objectors,' opponents of war on religious and ethical grounds, were very liberally admitted. Besides, the English published trustworthy news of the War and did not suppress enemy opinions.

"Is all this bound up with England's wealth? No European city seems so rich as London. I walked and rode through its length and breadth, in all directions. Almost everywhere the door handles were in good order, the many brass plates of business houses well polished, garden fences well kept—these things showed me the wealth of England more clearly than any statistical figures."

In February, 1916, Masaryk paid a visit to Paris, where Beneš was already installed as his lieutenant. Here he was granted an interview with M. Briand, then Prime Minister, whom he was able to convince of the wisdom of his policy. He also held conversations with the leading French politicians and other public men in Paris. But his chief concern was to combat the Russophil tendencies of certain members of the Czechoslovak colony in France. He found that these men had been propounding the most extraordinary theories as to the future of the Czechoslovak nation, which they went so far as to declare to be the considered views of Dr. Kramář. Bohemia was to become an appanage of the Russian throne, and in return

the Czech people would welcome conversion in a body to the Orthodox Church! Such ridiculous statements were doubly foolish at a time when the Western Allies were feeling considerable dissatisfaction with the Russian effort, and it was natural that the large body of pro-Austrian sympathizers should use them to the utmost in order to discredit the Czechoslovak cause.

Maskaryk, anxious to discover if possible the real attitude of the Russian Government towards his policy, took the characteristically direct step of calling upon M. Isvolsky, then the Russian Ambassador in Paris, whom he describes as "a type of those decent and reasonable Russian officials of high rank who saw through the situation and condemned it, but did little or nothing to improve it." From Isvolsky he obtained little comfort. It was quite clear from his conversation that the Russian Government had no thoughts for any but the Orthodox Slavs, and was in no way concerned for the fortunes of the Czechoslovaks. However, Isvolsky, impressed by Masaryk's arguments and by his reception by Briand, promised to do what he could, a promise which he subsequently fulfilled to the best of his ability. While still in Paris, Masaryk delivered a lecture at the Sorbonne, in which he showed the differences between Pan-Slavism and Pan-German-

ism, and declared that the various Slav nations could live side by side without entering into a combination for Slav dominion of the world.

After this visit to Paris, Masaryk returned to London, where he continued the work which he had so ably begun. Space does not permit of a detailed account of his doings, of the triumphs and disappointments which came to him during those long months of unremitting toil and of anxious watching of the fortunes of war. Of the steadfastness of the Western Allies he had long ceased to have any doubt; his residence in London and in Paris had shown him the determination of both Governments and people. But affairs in Russia caused him growing anxiety. Even Brusiloff's brilliant adventure in the summer and early autumn of 1916 failed to reassure him. He knew that this effort could not be maintained against the forces which must be brought to bear against it. He felt instinctively that the collapse, which he had always anticipated, was not far distant. To him the failure of Brusiloff to maintain his success marked the definite defeat of the Russians. As he records: "The year 1916 saw the total elimination and retreat of the Slav armies." Russia was at a standstill; the illusion of the "steam roller" was shattered for ever. Serbia was overthrown; by the end of the year Roumania had

ceased to exist as a belligerent. From now onwards the task of victory lay with the Western Powers.

But, if at this period Masaryk foresaw the collapse of Russia, he also perceived encouraging symptoms of the coming collapse of Austria. On October 21st, 1916, the Prime Minister, Count Sturgkh, was assassinated, and on November 11th of the same year the long reign of the old Emperor Francis Joseph came to an end. The accession of the Emperor Charles was the signal for the adoption of a "conciliatory" policy towards the Czechoslovaks, which, after causing Masaryk some anxiety, failed by reason of its very irresolution. Masaryk might well hold that the balance was even; that the defeat of Russia was compensated for by the decay which had so evidently crept into the absolutist system against which all his energies were directed.

Meanwhile, even in England, he was still exposed to the machinations of his enemies.

"As in Geneva, I had blood-poisoning. The doctors could not explain it. On their advice I went for a time to the seaside at Bournemouth, where I was operated upon. The surgeon affirmed that I had been poisoned through my laundry; and it was not unnatural to suppose that my Austrian enemies were looking after me in this way. Both at Geneva and in London I had proofs that they were watching me. So I kept up my revolver practice—as

I might have done in any case, for I was always fond of target shooting—and it was just as well for those who were shadowing me to see that I was on my guard. One day, indeed, thieves broke into my house—probably secret agents who wanted to get at my papers. By a lucky accident they were scared away; but, on the advice of the police, I had electric alarm-bells fixed at every point where the house could be broken into."

It was during the last months of Masaryk's residence in London that the first public proof of the success of his efforts was afforded to him and to the world at large. On November 7th, 1916, Wilson had been re-elected to the Presidency of the United States, and on December 21st he issued a message to the belligerents, in which he asked them to state their war-aims. On the following January 12th the Allies replied in a joint Note which Masaryk describes as "a brilliant success for our cause." Among the Allied conditions for peace the liberation of the Czechoslovaks was specifically included. Beneš, to whose influence with the French Government the inclusion of the Czechoslovaks in the Note was largely due, comments upon its effect as follows:

"The significance of the Allied Note to President Wilson is sufficiently well known. For us who were working abroad it represented the first obvious diplomatic success of any magnitude. There were great rejoicings in our

various headquarters abroad. We received telegrams and letters of congratulation from our Russian colony, our troops, our American colony, our compatriots in Italy, Switzerland, and elsewhere."

But, unfortunately, the full effect of the Allied declaration was marred by the action of some of the Czech Members of Parliament in Bohemia, who sought to curry favour with the new Austrian régime. These men, whom Beneš describes as "time-serving leaders," issued a resolution in which occurred the following passage:

"With regard to the reply of the Entente States to President Wilson, in which it is declared that one of the war aims of the countries fighting against our Monarchy is 'the liberation of the Czechs from foreign rule,' the presidency of the Czech League repudiates this insinuation, which is based upon entirely false suppositions, and it emphatically proclaims that, as always in the past, so too at the present time and also in the future, the Czech nation envisages the conditions of its development only beneath the sceptre of the Habsburgs."

The news of the issue of this resolution, which was eagerly transmitted by the Austrian Press, was naturally a great disappointment to Masaryk. It came at the precise moment when Prince Sixtus was beginning his first intrigue for a separate peace with Austria, an eventuality which Masaryk had always dreaded. But it was not long

before he was reassured as to the true feelings of the Czechoslovak people. The underground channels were still in admirable working order, and before long he learnt that public opinion in Prague deeply resented the terms of the resolution, which were in direct contradiction of the real inclinations of the people.

"The disavowal was soon forgotten. The Russian Revolution and the entry of the United States into the War filled men's minds and strengthened hopes of an Allied victory; and its influence at home was evident in the manifesto which our Members of Parliament issued on April 14th, 1917. This manifesto helped us because it contained, albeit indirectly, a criticism of Austria. And when, in view of this situation, the Austrian Parliament was convened, my fears began to diminish."

It was thus with a comparatively light heart that Masaryk left London on May 5th, 1917, equipped with a British passport and under the name of Thomas Marsden, bound for Russia, whither the events of the Revolution had called him.

CHAPTER X

The Russian Revolution came as a surprise to Masaryk, as it did to so many others. He had all along suspected the weakness of the Tsarist régime, but he had scarcely expected anything so dramatic as a Revolution. His natural anxiety concerned the effect which the event would have upon his plans.

"At that Juncture, despite my knowledge of Russia, many of the revolutionary leaders and what they stood for were unknown to me. One may feel fears, have intuitions, imagine a general situation and guess how it will develop, yet not possess, at a given moment, concrete knowledge of realities, of the chief persons at work and of their motives and intentions. This knowledge I lacked."

There was only one way by which to secure the necessary information, and that was to proceed to Russia. Masaryk had refrained from taking this step during the Tsarist régime, knowing that he was not looked upon with any favour by the members of the Government and their advisers. But now many of his own friends were in power as members of the Duma; Milyukov especially, now Foreign Minister, whom he had already met in

London and with whom he had discussed his own views.

Russia, apart from her position as the leading Slav nation, was of overwhelming importance in connection with one of the most salient points in Masaryk's policy. He had long ago decided that mere political and diplomatic opposition to Austria was not sufficient for the attainment of his ends. Words must be followed by deeds, and of these the most effective would be the formation of a Czechoslovak Army to take the field at the side of the Allies against the common enemy. As early as 1914 Masaryk had seen this to be an essential step, and had urged it by every means in his power. The material for such an army existed among the Czechoslovak prisoners of war, as well as among the members of the Czechoslovak colonies abroad. Of prisoners there were a large number. Many Czechs, mobilized in the Austrian Armies, had been captured in the course of military operations, while others, glad to escape from a service which they loathed had laid down their arms and gone over to the enemy. Since the Austrian Armies had at first been employed upon the Eastern Front, the great majority of these prisoners of war were interned in Russia.

A beginning had been made as early as August 4th, 1914, when the Czechs of Moscow had sought

permission to form a Czech Legion to serve in the Russian Army. Permission had been given, and this Legion, known as the Družina, was formed as a Russian unit under Russian officers. Later, recruiting for the Družina had been sanctioned from among "trustworthy Czech prisoners." But the Russian military authorities, encouraged by some members of the Czech colonies in Russia, did not regard the Družina as a front-line formation. It was kept in reserve, the official plan being that as soon as Austria was occupied by Russian troops, the Družina was to act as "a corps of propagandists, who were to facilitate the occupation by winning the goodwill of the inhabitants." This original idea was gradually lost sight of, and the Czechoslovaks were employed on scouting duties with the result that the members of the Družina became scattered. But, in spite of many misunderstandings between the Czechoslovaks and the Russians, and of differences of opinion among the rival Czech organizations, the Družina eventually developed into a Czech Brigade, which recognized Masaryk's authority and proclaimed him "Dictator" on March 20th, 1917. Finally, the Military Council of the Russian Provisional Government removed the restrictions hitherto placed upon the enlistment of Czechoslovak prisoners of war, and authorized "Regu-

lations for the Organization of the Czechoslovak Army," under which General Červinka, a Czech by birth serving in the Russian Armies, began to convert the Brigade into a national army.

This, then, was the position when Masaryk arrived in Russia. He immediately proceeded to get into touch with his Russian friends and with the representatives of the Western Allies.

"I called at once on Milyukov, whom I found on the point of resignation—an unpleasant surprise. However, I established relations little by little with the other members of the Provisional Government, including the Prime Minister, Prince Lvov, and with Milyukov's successor, Tereshtchenko. At the Foreign Office and War Office, with which I was chiefly concerned, I met, here and there, a few intelligent people who were open to reason and had retained pro-Ally feelings. . . . In the place of the French Ambassador, M. Paleologue, who had just left Petrograd—my train must have crossed his on the way—I found M. Albert Thomas, well-disposed towards us, whereas Paleologue had been pro-Austrian. . . .

"The British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, was very obliging. As a loyal friend of the Provisional Government and of Liberal circles generally, he had remarkable influence in the Petrograd of that time. Against him the Conservatives and Reactionaries spread all sorts of obviously slanderous gossip, accusing him of having caused the Revolution. With the Italian Ambassador, Marquis Carlotti, my relations were very intimate. He

urged his own Government to form a Czechoslovak Legion in Italy out of our prisoners of war. . . .

"As in London and Paris I gave public addresses . . . or arranged meetings with leading and influential persons. I kept the newspapers informed and wrote a number of articles. The refrain of my propaganda was 'Break up Austria'—propaganda not less necessary in Russia than it had been in the West, since the Russians had no definite anti-Austrian policy but accepted rather the idea of making Austria smaller."

From the first, Masaryk realized that the hopes aroused in England and elsewhere by the fall of Tsardom were unjustified. He saw that the military system had entirely broken down, and that nothing short of years of unremitting labour could re-establish it. "Upon military Russia, I soon discovered, the Allies could not and ought no longer to reckon." This military collapse naturally stood in the way of the organization of the Czechoslovak Army. In spite of the formal decision of the Provisional Government, Masaryk had to contend with the dead weight of official mistrust and red tape.

"Assurances and orders were given, yet nothing was done, and there was open opposition at Headquarters. Individuals always made promises, and broke them. I dealt with the highest and most influential persons, with Kornilov, with Brusilov, who promised and promised; but, month after month, the creation of the army was

put off. On all sides I was aware of distrust and incomprehension. True, their own army gave the Russian military authorities enough cause for anxiety at that moment. They had more men than they could deal with and saw little use in a Czech Army. The officials were obviously tired. Russia was losing, her army disintegrating—why make such an effort? That, at least, was a pertinent argument. But many, confounding two different conceptions, feared our Liberalism and our Catholicism. And—in keeping with the third term in the Russian absolutist trinity of ideas—the apprehension was expressed that, if a Czech National Army was set up, national armies would have to be granted to the Poles and others. For this reason our small brigade was kept as a part of the Russian Army and our men had to swear allegiance to Russia, though not a few Russian Generals understood that, if only for military reasons, our men ought above all to swear allegiance to their own nation."

A slight turn for the better came after the Battle of Zborov, in Eastern Galicia, on July 3rd, 1917, in which the Czech Brigade played a particularly gallant part. But a wide gulf still existed between the ideas of the Russian military authorities and those of Masaryk. The latter wished to form an absolutely independent army, under the orders of the Czechoslovak National Council alone, which, since there was little hope of further effective resistance on the Eastern Front, must be transferred to France. The Rus-

sians, on the other hand, wished to retain the Czechoslovaks as a nucleus of disciplined troops, to be employed in their own domestic quarrels. It was not until the appointment of General Dukhonin as Chief of the Russian General Staff that Masaryk was able to secure anything like independence for the army. This was on October 9th, 1917. But, a month later, the Bolshevik Revolution broke out, and in December Dukhonin was murdered. By this time, however, the army, though still imperfectly organized and equipped, and suffering from the disadvantages attendant upon a new formation, existed as a disciplined force conscious of a national *esprit de corps*.

The outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution enormously increased Masaryk's difficulties. His position in Russia was entirely different from that which he had occupied in the West. He was now the recognized leader of his nation; the political chief of an organized body of men who looked to him for guidance. Further, this particular body of men had retained their discipline and cohesion in the heart of a country thrown into utter confusion. Masaryk and his Czechoslovaks were now a force which must be reckoned with, and the world was not slow to realize the fact.

To Masaryk Bolshevism was first and foremost a military problem. He found himself in the

thick of its excesses, first at Petrograd, then at Moscow, and finally at Kiev, and in each of these towns he had many narrow escapes from death. But, as usual, he refused to allow considerations of personal safety to interfere with his work, and insisted in incurring risks which caused his staff to accuse him of "a physiological lack of the sense of danger."

An incident which illustrates Masaryk's coolness in the face of danger, and also his insistence upon the truth, even at the most critical times, occurred in Moscow. He was walking along the street, when suddenly a cross-fire broke out between the Bolsheviks at one end and the Government troops at the other. He found himself the centre of a hail of bullets, and sought refuge at the Hôtel Metropole near by. The porter opened the door to his insistent knocking, but refused him shelter unless he was staying at the hotel. "No, I am not," replied Masaryk without hesitation.

His anxieties for the future of the army allowed him no rest. It was clear to him that the Bolsheviks would shortly make peace with Germany, and before this catastrophe occurred it was imperative that the army, then concentrated at Kiev, should be placed in a position whence its effect could be employed. Upon the most vital point Masaryk's mind was already made up. The

Czechoslovak Army must not, under any circumstances or provocation, become entangled in the domestic affairs of Russia. Its place was upon the Western Front.

In February, 1918, Kiev was captured by the Bolsheviks. The Czechoslovak troops took no part in the fighting, and Masaryk secured an undertaking from Muraviev, the Bolshevik leader, guaranteeing their armed neutrality and allowing them free permission to depart for France. But this did not preclude an invasion of the Czechoslovak camp by a horde of Bolshevik propagandists. Masaryk, who knew the real meaning of Bolshevism and the slender appeal which it was likely to make to his soldiers, allowed these agents full scope.

"After careful reflection I decided to let the Bolshevik agitators talk to our fellows. As a result, only 218 men out of our whole army joined the Reds, and several of them came back next day, for, naturally, they were not slow to see the defects of the Bolshevist forces. An episode which opened the eyes of the better sort more thoroughly than I could have done by any prohibition of Bolshevist propaganda, was that, on the morrow, one of our Reds boasted that he had a pocket full of watches."

In spite of Muraviev's undertaking, the Czechoslovaks were exposed to much provocation from

the Bolsheviks, who murdered several of their sentries. But, notwithstanding these incidents, neutrality was preserved, and the army continued its preparations for its removal to France.

By this time, there was only one route open to them. They must traverse the whole width of Siberia to Vladivostok, and then proceed by sea half around the world. In the face of this stupendous undertaking several alternative schemes were proposed. It was suggested that the army should cross the Caucasus and join the British forces in Asia. But the most promising alternative seemed to lie in proceeding to Roumania. This course had been proposed some months earlier, and Masaryk had made a journey to Jassy to view the situation on the spot. As a result of his observations he had then decided against intervention in that quarter, and his decision still held good. But his journey to Roumania was not entirely without result. He formed connections in that country and laid the foundations of a friendship which bore fruit later in the establishment of the Little Entente.

The history of the Czechoslovak Army, and of its amazing march across Asia, attacked on all sides by the Bolsheviks, has been told elsewhere. How it was regarded by the world at large may

be gathered from the words of Mr. Lane, a member of President Wilson's Administration.

"Isn't this a great world? And its biggest romance is not even the fact that Woodrow Wilson rules it, but the march of the Czechoslovaks across 5,000 miles of Russian Asia—an army on foreign soil, without a Government, without a span of territory that is recognized as a nation. This, I think, appeals to my imagination as nothing else in the War has done since the days when King Albert of Belgium held out at Liège."

And Mr. Lloyd George, in a message to Masaryk, said: "The story of the adventures and triumphs of this small army is, indeed, one of the greatest epics of history."

Masaryk was the first to realize the value of the exploits of the army as a factor in the national demand for recognition. But, however much he might desire to do so, he had no leisure to accompany it. His duties called him elsewhere. He had secured the promise of Czechoslovak independence, he had formed an army and had forged it into a weapon for the furtherance of his cause. The next step must be the securing of formal recognition by the Allied and Associated Powers, and for this reason his presence was required in Europe or America. He bade farewell to the army on March 7th, 1918, his sixty-eighth birth-

day, and set out by the Trans-Siberian railway for Vladivostok.

During the journey he employed his time in finishing his book, *The New Europe,* which was designed to place his theories in concrete form before the Allied peoples. He reached Tokio on April 8th, where he was warmly welcomed by the Allied diplomatists, who were eager to hear reliable news of Russian conditions from one who had observed them on the spot. At the request of Mr. Morris, the American Ambassador, Masaryk prepared a short memorandum on Bolshevism and its significance for the use of President Wilson. In this memorandum he advised the Allies not to take up arms against the Bolsheviks, but to recognize them and concentrate upon combating German influence in Russia. Masaryk was one of Bolshevism's most convinced enemies, but he saw the danger of becoming entangled in military operations in so vast and disorganized a country. For the same reason he repeated his determination to extract the Czechoslovak Army and transfer it to France.

Masaryk left Yokohama on April 29th, bound for Vancouver. "Once on a British boat I felt I was again in Europe and in America, not merely by force of international law but because all the surroundings were European or American." He

reached Chicago on May 5th, where he was given a great reception by the Czech colony. As he himself records, Chicago is, next to Prague, the largest Czech city in the world. It had been the centre, both financial and political, of the Czech colonies in America, which had done so much during the past four years to further Masaryk's policy. Spectacular demonstrations had never appealed to him, but his experiences in America caused him to change his opinion as to their value.

"Before the War I used to denounce 'flag-waving'; but in America I realized that in so doing I had overshot the mark. Professor as I then was, I had failed to see that a well-organized procession may be worth quite as much as an ostensibly world-shaking political article or a speech in Parliament."

It was during the first weeks of Masaryk's residence in the United States that he obtained evidence that the Czechs and Slovaks, both at home and abroad, were in accordance with his views as to the formation of the future Czechoslovak State. There were still a few dissentients, who either through ignorance or fear were not prepared to the lengths which Masaryk advocated, but these were in the minority. On May 1st, 1918, the representatives of Slovakia assembled at Liptovsky Sv. Mikuláš, in Slovakia, had declared them-

selves in favour of union with the Czechs, a declaration which was renewed on October 30th at Turčansky Sv. Martin. In Prague a National Committee was established on July 13th. This Committee

"issued an emphatically revolutionary manifesto denoting full and unreserved unity with our movement in the Allied countries. . . . In this manifesto the Committee stated that it would 'gather and direct all spiritual, moral, and material forces in the nation for attaining the right of self-determination in an independent democratic Czechoslovak State, with its own administration beneath its own sovereignty.' "

In America the representatives of the Czech and Slovak colonies held a conference at Pittsburg, and drew up a Convention, signed on June 30th, in which the establishment of the Czechoslovak State was agreed upon.

This agreement between Czechs and Slovaks formed a marked tribute to Masaryk's genius. His ambition had always been, not the liberation of the Czechs alone, but the resumption of their ancient union with their Slovak brothers. Himself a Slovak by birth, he knew that the Slovaks could hope for no future within the borders of Hungary, and that their national identity could only be preserved by close association with the Czechs. Before the War, and even after its out-

break, there were many, both in Bohemia and Slovakia, who disagreed with the project of unity. Although the Slovaks were almost unanimous in their longing for liberation from the Magyar yoke, many of them believed that Slovakia could lay claim to existence as an independent State. Masaryk was able to convince them of the error inherent in this idea, and to persuade them to support the Czechoslovak ideal.

"The more thoughtful Slovak leaders saw that the Slovaks would derive no benefit from territorial autonomy and that an independent movement for the liberation of Slovakia must end in a fiasco. This was fully discussed at the Pittsburg Conference. I was able to show the Slovaks how little they were known in the political world and how serious a failure we should have courted had they acted independently. The idea of an independent Slovakia could not be taken seriously, though there might be a theoretical possibility of Slovak autonomy under Hungary. But since this possibility was not practical in the circumstances, there remained nothing save union. During the War, all the small peoples were demanding freedom and unity. Both Slovaks and Czechs knew that I had always stood for Slovakia; that, as a Slovak by origin and tradition, my feelings are Slovak, and that I have always worked, not merely talked, for Slovakia. In Bohemia, sympathy for Slovakia has always been lively. The Czechs—Havlíček, for instance—recognized the racial individuality of the Slovaks and Moravians. I know Slovakia and the Slovak people

pretty well, being in touch with the older and the younger generations and having worked with both for the rebirth of the country. . . . But I am quite aware that many Slovaks, in their racial and political humiliation, sought consolation in visions and dreams rather than in action or work."

Masaryk, in the course of his propaganda among the Allied peoples, had consistently dwelt upon the national and historical aspects of the union of the Czechs and Slovaks. In *The New Europe* he sums up the arguments in a few words. The Czechs, he says,

"have an historical and natural right to the addition of Slovakia, so brutally oppressed by the Magyars. . . . Slovakia, formerly the centre of the Great Moravian Empire, was torn away by the Magyars in the tenth century, and was later for a short time connected again politically with its kinsman and was for a time independent. Culturally the Slovaks remained constantly in close relation with the Czechs. . . . The union of the Czechs and Slovaks is therefore a legitimate demand. The demand was made not only by the Czechs, but also by the Slovaks."

Masaryk reached Washington on May 9th, and immediately set about his usual task of interviewing prominent people and writing articles. He had by now formulated his policy for the future of the Czechoslovak nation and the part

that it was to play in post-war Europe, in his book *The New Europe*. The first section of this work, which was written for the purpose of explaining the Slav standpoint to the world, deals with the historical significance of the War, and in it the contrast between Pan-Germanism and the aims of the Allies is fully developed. From this Masaryk passes to the principle of Nationality, with especial reference to the problem of the small nations. The third section of the book deals with the Eastern Question and the future of Eastern Europe. Finally, in a summary, the various points which, in Masaryk's opinion, should guide the organizers of peace are set out with remarkable clarity.

That Masaryk should have had the vision to compile such a comprehensive work is a great proof of his statesmanship and powers of observation. During his long pilgrimage he had studied the problems of the War from the point of view of each country he had visited, and had gained an insight into the position as a whole which few men at that period can have possessed. *The New Europe* is far more than a justification of his own policy. It is even more than a brilliant and sincere review of contemporary world-politics by a man who is at once a statesman and a philosopher. It is one of the very few documents

produced during the War which are really constructive, containing as it does a complete and reasoned scheme for the future reconstruction of Europe.

The summer of 1918 witnessed the triumph of Masaryk's unremitting efforts. During the course of it the Allied and Associated Powers finally recognized the independence of the Czechoslovak Nation. The British Declaration of August 9th is typical of those issued by the other Allies.

"Since the beginning of the War the Czechoslovak nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battlefields and attempting, in Russia and Siberia, to arrest the Germanic invasion.

"In consideration of its efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an Allied nation and recognizes the unity of the three Czechoslovak Armies as an Allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany.

"Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak National Council, as the supreme organ of the Czechoslovak national interests, and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government, to exercise supreme authority over this Allied and belligerent army."

Of the effort involved before this end was reached Masaryk himself confesses that he can convey no adequate impression. He can, he records,

"convey no idea of the amount of work, thought, anxiety and emotion which the process of recognition caused us, what wanderings through the whole world, what petitions and interviews in the various Ministries of Paris, London, Rome, Petrograd, Washington and Tokio, how many visits to leading personages, how many memoranda, telegrams, letters, lectures and articles, how much help from Allied Ambassadors and from our political friends. But without our propaganda abroad, without our diplomatic work and the blood of our Legions, we should not have achieved our independence."

The rest of the story is soon told. The Central Empires were on the point of collapse, and it was obvious that the catastrophe could not long be delayed. There was one anxious moment in store for Masaryk, when the Emperor Charles endeavoured to mobilize pro-Austrian sentiment in the Allied countries by proclaiming his intention to convert Austria into a Federation of semi-independent States. But Masaryk was equal to the emergency.

"I issued at that moment the Declaration of Independence which I had long had in mind. Logically, the

Declaration was a consequence of the establishment of our Provisional Government which had been notified to the Allies on October 14th; and it was cast in a form calculated to remind the Americans of their own Declaration of Independence. It had also a tactical value; for by the time the Emperor Charles's manifesto was published, the colours of the free Czechoslovak State were already flying from the house where I lived as President of our Provisional Government."

It is significant that upon the conversion of the Czechoslovak National Council into a Provisional Government, Masaryk should have become the President of that Government as a matter of course. Beneš records the appointment in a phrase which by its very terseness expresses this natural and inevitable conclusion. "Masaryk's functions in the interim Government were important both to us and to the Allies. . . . He was appointed head of the State mechanism and President of the Government for reasons which are too obvious to need explanation."

From this to the end was but a step. On October 28th a bloodless revolution took place in Prague, and the members of the National Committee—the local representatives of the Provisional Government, which had its seat in Paris —took over the administration of the Bohemian Lands almost without resistance from the de-

moralized Austrian authorities. On November 14th a National Assembly met in Prague, at which meeting Czechoslovakia was proclaimed a free and democratic Republic. "At the same session Professor T. G. Masaryk, the leader of the triumphant Czechoslovak revolution, was by acclamation unanimously elected President of the Republic."

Masaryk was still in America while these events were taking place. But his presence was urgently required at home. Beneš records that during the last days of October "I was repeatedly asked by the Prague delegates, in view of the extreme tension prevailing at home, to urge upon Masaryk the necessity for returning to Bohemia as soon as possible, as his authority was universally recognized." But Masaryk was not free to leave at once. He was engaged upon negotiations concerning the future movements of the Czechoslovak Legion in Siberia, and also with the flotation of a State loan. It was not until November 15th that he paid his last visit to President Wilson. Five days later he sailed from New York on board the *Carmania.*

"On leaving the Vanderbilt Hotel I was surprised to find a detachment of American sailors awaiting me. They had been sent to render me my first military honours as President—those military honours which

were henceforth to be paid as I came and went, everywhere and always, compelling me again and again to realize that I had ceased to be a private individual."

The new President reached London on November 29th and stayed there until December 6th. "What a difference between the position then and the position in May, 1917, when I started from London on my—unforeseen—journey round the world!" As President of the Czechoslovak Republic he was now accorded military and diplomatic honours, but at heart he was still the unpretentious Professor, whose principal emotion was one of gratitude towards the friends who had stood by him during the years of struggle. His first evening in England was spent "with my dear friends and fellow-workers, Steed and Seton-Watson." The claims of friendship were more powerful in his eyes than the pomp and circumstance attending upon the Head of a State.

From London he proceeded to Paris, where he met Beneš, who has given an impression of his attitude at this time.

"During this time in Paris the President often looked tired and nearly always preoccupied. A sentence has remained fixed in my mind which he uttered on several occasions, and which he repeated to the soldiers at

Darney: 'We have reached the top, but it is easier to reach the top than to stay there.' "

Masaryk, indeed, knew that his task, far from being completed, had, in a sense, only just begun. It was his example, his teaching, his own personal efforts, which had created the Czecho-slovak Republic. It remained for him to guide it through the difficult and dangerous paths of its infancy. Of this he had been conscious, even in the first elation of success. He had no illusions as to what lay before him.

"In America, and afterwards in England and everywhere, numbers of people asked me what it felt like to be President since I had secured independence for our people. They took it for granted that I was the happiest man on earth. In Prague a well-known German writer visited me so that, as he said, he might see with his own eyes a really happy man. Happy?

"As President I thought only of going on with the task in hand, and of the responsibility which all of us who were capable of thinking politically would have to bear. I felt neither happy nor happier than before, though knowledge of the inner consistency, of the internal logic of my long life's work, gladdened me."

Masaryk reached Prague at last on December 21st.

"What were my feelings as the people of Prague gave me so splendid a reception, and as I drove through the streets in a democratic motor-car instead of the gilded

carriage that would have been too reminiscent of times that were past? Was I glad, was I joyous? Seeing the rejoicings, the wealth of costumes, colours, banners, decorations and flowers, answering the warmth of the greetings, what were my thoughts? The heavy work awaiting me, the work of building up our restored State decently and well, constantly weighed on my mind; nor did this train of thought cease when, in the afternoon, I pledged myself solemnly 'In honour and conscience to act for the weal of the Republic and of the people, and to respect the laws.' "

With the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, Masaryk had reached the end of that long and weary road which he had followed with such steady faith and persistence since the dark days of 1914. He might well have claimed the right to rest; to spend the remaining years of his life among his books, watching from some secure retreat the fortunes of the State which owed its existence to his labours. But, long ago, he had resigned all thoughts of self. He was devoted, mind and soul, to his people, and that devotion must continue, in spite of weariness, in spite of the march of the advancing years, as long as his people chose to demand it. And of the existence of this demand there was no room for doubt. Masaryk was not only the titular President of the Republic. He was, first and foremost, the teacher, the father of his people, to whom not

cnly politicians but the rank and file of the populace looked for guidance in their daily round. It is no exaggeration to say that had Masaryk laid down his leadership at this stage, the newly regained liberty of the Czechoslovaks would have seemed a barren and unfruitful mockery.

Beneš, his faithful lieutenant, sums up his services in these words:

"It was Masaryk's greatest merit that at the very outbreak of the War he was able to form a correct judgment of affairs, and to arrange his whole activity accordingly. A philosopher of democracy, of the social and national idea, he became the leader of our Revolution and the organizer of our whole movement, not only because the development of events brought him to the forefront, but chiefly because his whole previous record enabled him during the War to act as an embodiment of our aims and endeavours, our ideals and wishes. Few nations have had the good fortune to be able at a decisive moment of their history to associate themselves unreservedly, with absolute confidence and certainty, with a leader who so unmistakably symbolized the ideals of the age and their great political, social, economic and moral struggles, the ideals of the future, the traditions of his nation and its immediate desires, and who at the same time was able so effectively to draw up a programme of his political and spiritual intentions. For this reason the leader of our victorious revolution was styled the nation's liberator, and it is by this name that he will be known in our history."

CHAPTER XI

From 1918 until the present day the life of Masaryk has been bound up with that of the State which has been recreated by his efforts. It is not proposed to enter into a detailed account of the progress of Czechoslovakia during the past twelve years, but it will be necessary to touch upon certain events, and certain aspects of State policy, in order to convey some idea of the President's activities during this period.

Masaryk's prestige upon his return to Prague in 1918 was practically unlimited. Even those who had been his bitterest political opponents realized and admitted that the recognition of Czechoslovak claims by the Allies, and consequently the foundation of the republic, had been rendered possible only by his wise direction of affairs during the years of crisis. Even before the War, when he had combined the rôle of a thinker and teacher with that of a politician, his influence upon the mass of the people had been greater than that of any of his contemporaries. He had done more to educate the Czechs, in preparation for the regaining of their liberty, than all the other prominent men of the nation. Now, the

success of his efforts, the glamour that clings to the man who has achieved the popular desire, extended his power over the whole of the nation. Those who had clung to the fearless Professor throughout the ups and downs of his stormy career were joined by those whose attitude had once been critical, but had now become his enthusiastic admirers. Masaryk was no longer an enigmatic figure, the centre of controversy, but a man of action and a hero, who had led his people through difficult paths to their final victory.

There could be no question of the nation's choice of a leader during the difficult years of its infancy. Both those who had remained at home, and were now rejoicing in the liberty which he had secured for them, and those who had fought abroad in the ranks of the Legionaries, who had found in him a fearless and determined leader, were prepared to bestow upon him their complete confidence. The Czechs are a democratic people, as their history demonstrates. But there is no doubt that, had Masaryk wished, he might have assumed the position of Dictator, or even constitutional monarch. The people demanded his guidance, and would have accepted it in any form which had seemed good to him.

But Masaryk's whole philosophy and teaching had forecasted a democratic State.

"Personally," he had written, "I desire a republican form for our new State. It will be objected that the people are not yet prepared for it. It is quite possible that there are peoples not yet prepared, but for my part I believe that our people, because they have perfected themselves by their own efforts, because they have healed their wounds by their own civilization, possess the sense of discipline. It is those who are possessed of political consciousness and culture who will maintain the Republic."

If, then, in accordance with Masaryk's wishes, a Republic had been proclaimed, he himself must assume the direction of it. In the Constitution, which was the result of long deliberation, and which was the last act of the Constituent Assembly, being voted on February 29th, 1920, provision was made for a Head of the State, a President elected every seven years by the National Assembly. The President was endowed with powers which assured that he should be the Head of the State not only in theory but in practice. Without enumerating these powers in detail, it may be said that in Czechoslovakia the powers of the President far exceed those of the French President, without being as absolute as those of the President of the United States. Further, the Constitution provided that Masaryk, unlike his successors, could be repeatedly elected to office.

The new State, thus committed to Masaryk's guidance, was faced by many difficulties. In the first place, it included powerful minorities of non-Czechoslovaks, the German inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and the Magyars of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The members of these minorities found themselves placed under the rule of a majority consisting of a nationality which they had hitherto despised. It was natural that they should resent the new situation in which they found themselves, and should refuse to co-operate in the essential work of consolidation. Further, they found sympathizers among their co-nationals in the neighbour States of the Republic, a fact which greatly complicated the early foreign relations of the newly constituted State.

Among the Czechs themselves there was a grave deficiency of men of political and administrative experience. The nation, suddenly finding itself elevated from the position of a mere province of Austria to that of an independent State, was faced with the task of constructing entirely new legislative and administrative machinery. The old attitude of the Czechs towards the Austrian administration was largely responsible for this. They had always regarded it from a negative point of view, and few of them had either the opportunity or the desire to par-

ticipate in it. The interests of Austria, since her policy had always been directed by the German element, was usually opposed to the interests of her Slav population. The latter could express their desires, but could not enforce them, and the system naturally produced in the Czech people particularly a tendency to opposition, if not of non-co-operation.

This tendency remained, even after the institution of the Republic. It was difficult enough to find men who were capable of undertaking the responsibilities of governing the country, but it was fatally easy to find a multitude of opportunists who were loud in their criticism of any Government which might be formed. Further, the nation, in the first consciousness of its liberty, tended to split up into a number of groups, each of which had its own ideas of how the country should be governed. Such were the difficulties inherent in the formation of a new democracy.

Masaryk, as a wise and politic statesman, has consistently used his influence in the solution of the many problems presented to the Republic. His task has been rendered easier by the fact that he is universally regarded as the father of his people—*Tatíček,* in the affectionate idiom of the populace. He has thus the advantage and the privilege of being able to direct them as a father,

rather than as a democratic leader dependent upon popular vote for his position. To his directing brain has been due the success which has attended the early strivings of the Republic.

His ambition from the first was to weld the majority and the minorities together into a solid and homogeneous Czechoslovak State, and this without in any way infringing the rights of the minorities, guaranteed to them by the Peace Treaties. The minorities are entitled to their own culture, their own schools and the use of their own language. Masaryk's wish was to cultivate in the members of these minorities the idea that they were first and foremost Czechoslovak citizens, despite the fact that they were of a different race and spoke a different language from the majority. To effect this was no easy task. The minorities for the most part inherited the undemocratic principles which had been the guiding policy of the Monarchy. Their old aristocracy found itself in the position of simple and unprivileged citizens of a democratic State. The members of the German and Magyar minorities had a natural feeling of kinship with their conationals in Austria and Hungary respectively; they found themselves separated from them by a State frontier and a tariff wall. They were accustomed to regarding the Czechoslovaks as an

inferior race; they were henceforth included in a State whose interests must necessarily be those of the Czechoslovak majority.

It is the personality of Masaryk as head of the State which is largely responsible for the growing co-operation of the minorities. He has consistently declared that the interest of the minorities, the protection of their rights and of their prosperity, demands their participation in the affairs of the State. He has, by his clear perception of the realities of the situation, and by his refusal to lend himself to any form of oppression of the minorities, succeeded in gaining their confidence and in building the foundations of a bridge which must eventually span the gulf which exists between Czechoslovak and German and Czechoslovak and Magyar. By 1926 two of the German parties, the Agrarians and the Christian Socialists, were in active support of the Government, and their leaders took office as Minister of Public Works and of Justice respectively. This participation of members of the German minority in the Government may well be considered, not only as a striking sign of the consolidation of the Republic, but as a personal triumph for its President.

Even before the Czechoslovak Republic had come into being, Masaryk had outlined the for-

eign policy which it should pursue. Simultaneously with the consolidation of the State and the development of its internal policy, it would be necessary to acquire the respect of its neighbours. The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia was to be based upon this principle. But it was to have a far wider range than this. The State could only prosper by cultivating good relations with its neighbours. With a long and open frontier, for a great part of its length ill-suited to defence, Czechoslovakia could not afford to invite the resentment of bordering States. Even more important still, as a nation depending for its existence upon its exports, it must be assured of friendly markets outside its borders.

Apart from these considerations, the maintenance of peace was to Masaryk, as a humanitarian philosopher, the first duty of the State. But peace could only be maintained by strong and decisive action, not by weak submission to aggression. The new State was to be firmly established: "We shall concentrate all our efforts upon making our State a fortress of liberty in the heart of Europe, and the advance-guard of democracy towards the East." Yet it was not to pursue a policy of aggression, though it would consider itself free to take up arms in its own defence.

"Defending oneself by arms is an entirely different thing from committing violence. Every act must be judged by its intention, thus it is clear that he who defends himself has not by any means the same intention as he who commits violence of malice aforethought. A man of honour can never have any doubts as to when he is defending himself and when he is committing violence."

Very shortly after the formation of the Republic, it was called upon to take up arms in its own defence. Although the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) had been taken over and organized without any serious difficulty, the position in Slovakia was more complicated. Although the Slovak leaders had, by the Declaration of Turčansky Sv. Martin, manifested quite clearly the desire of the Slovak people to throw in their lot with the Republic, there was no organization among the Slovaks, and no officials of Slovak nationality who could take up the duties of organization. The Magyar population, both in Slovakia and Hungary, were bitterly opposed to the separation of Slovakia from the Crown of St. Stephen. Hungary, even under the Karolyi régime, possessed considerable armed forces, which the Czechoslovaks, with practically all their fighting population serving abroad in the ranks of the Legionaries, were quite unable to

oppose. The only recourse was to the Supreme Allied Command. A line of demarcation, which eventually, with slight modifications, became the frontier adopted by the Peace Conference was drawn between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the Magyars, yielding to pressure, retired behind this line.

With the fall of Count Karolyi and the seizure of power in Hungary by the Bolsheviks under Bela Kun, hostilities broke out once more. Towards the end of May, 1919, during the Roumanian invasion of Hungary undertaken against the Bolshevist power, Czechoslovak troops occupied certain places on the Hungarian side of the line of demarcation, an action necessary to keep open their own lines of communication. The Bolshevik leaders chose to regard this as an act of aggression. They knew that an attempt to recover Slovakia would be welcomed by their political opponents, and they believed that by undertaking it they would increase their waning popularity. The first surprise attack was successful. They drove the weak and scattered Czechoslovak detachments back over the line of demarcation, and following this up, contrived to occupy nearly two-thirds of Slovakia. But before the hastily mobilized Czechoslovak forces could be assembled to repel the invaders, the Allies

stepped in, and on June 8th ordered the Magyars to retire.

This was the first symptom of the constraint and ill-feeling which exists between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In every other direction but this Czechoslovak foreign policy has achieved a series of striking successes. But the false and unhappy attitude of Hungary has rendered abortive all attempts at establishing really friendly relations between the two countries. The fall of the short-lived Bolshevist régime was followed by a reaction and the loud proclamation of jingo ideals, among which was the restoration of Hungary to her former extent. In spite of this, efforts were made by the Czechoslovak Government to take steps towards the settlement of the most urgent questions at issue between the two countries. But, in March, 1921, the first attempt of the ex-Emperor Charles to seize the reins of government in Budapest compelled the members of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania) to threaten military action, with the full sanction of the Entente.

Six months later the ex-Emperor made a second attempt, and after its failure the Hungarian Parliament, under military and diplomatic pressure from the Entente, was forced formally to dethrone Charles. This application

of pressure did not tend to improve the relations between Hungary and her neighbours, and even the entry of Hungary into the League of Nations, in September, 1922, did not prevent her from indulging in irredentist propaganda and direct incitement to revolt upon her frontiers. In 1923 Hungary, being in need of a foreign loan, began seriously to negotiate with the representatives of the Succession for an adjustment of their mutual relations. The results of these negotiations were not very promising, and in spite of the fact that a commercial treaty, which it was hoped might be a prelude to a closer *rapprochement,* was concluded between Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1927, a feeling of tension still exists between the two countries.[1]

The relations which have existed almost since the first between Czechoslovakia and Austria are in refreshing contrast to the above. As early as January, 1920, the Austrian chancellor visited Prague, and was received in cordial conversation with the President. A provisional commercial treaty was concluded in the spring of 1921 and this was followed by a political treaty in December of the same year. In 1922 Czechoslovakia took an active part in the rehabilitation of the

1 For a full account of the relations between the Little Entente and its neighbours, see *The Little Entente,* by Robert Machray (London: Allen and Unwin).

Austrian finances, a matter of considerable importance to the former country, since Austria is her second largest customer, Germany holding first place.

Turning to the internal politics of the new State, a short sketch of the various Governments will serve to indicate the development of Masaryk's democratic ideals. The first government was that of the National Assembly, and was in the nature of a coalition of all the Czech parties and the Slovak leaders. The Prime Minister was Krámař, who owed his election rather to the part he had played during the War than to the strength of his party, the National Democrats. His deputy was Svehla, the leader of the Agrarians, and Beneš, who, as Masaryk's principal lieutenant, had played such a brilliant part in Paris, was Minister for Foreign Affairs. This Government, which had the difficult task of the reconstruction of the war-devastated country, remained in power until July, 1919. It had become apparent that the first Government, of which the members were mostly drawn from the "Conservative" elements of the nation, was no longer representative, in view of the wave of Socialism which was passing through the nation. A new Cabinet was therefore formed—elections being impossible

until the National Assembly had completed its task and produced a definite Constitution—composed mainly of representatives of the Socialists and the Agrarians. The leader of the former party, M. Tusar, became Prime Minister, and Beneš, who remained outside the vortex of parties, continued as Foreign Minister.

This second Government, referred to as the Red-Green Coalition, initiated much Socialist legislation, including the Eight Hours' Act and the Land Reform Act. But, in spite of its representative character, it was confronted with grave difficulties owing to a split in the strongest party in the country, the Social Democrats. In the autumn of 1920 the left wing of this party threatened to overwhelm the Moderates, and to announce their adherence to the Moscow International. This, of course, would have led to the overthrow of the State, and the leaders of the party decided to expel the Communists from their ranks. The Moderate leaders of the Social Democrats, realizing that they no longer represented the party as a whole and wishing for the opportunity to reorganize the party internally, resigned from the Government. A Government crisis ensued, since the remaining Czech parties were in a minority, nor was it advisable that

"Conservative" ministers should assume power while a Socialist majority remained in the Assembly.

The President resolved upon the bold and unusual expedient of summoning a Non-Parliamentary Government of experts and officials. He took this course much against his own inclinations, since it was one of his guiding principles of democracy that the Government should be in the hands of the elected representatives of the people. But, if a crisis, which might well have led to the undoing of all the work of the past two years, was to be avoided, it was necessary to place in power men who were not swayed by party passion. In September, 1920, Dr. Černy, the president of the Moravian administration, was appointed Prime Minister, and the remaining portfolios, with the exception of that of Foreign Affairs, which remained in the hands of Beneš, were allotted to various Government Officials.

The experiment proved a success, at least as a means of tiding over a difficult time. The Government of Officials refrained from any drastic legislation, and contented itself with putting the various branches of State administration in order. Meanwhile the split in the Social Democratic Party widened. The Communists finally broke off altogether, and in December, 1920, at-

tempted a *coup d'état*. They proclaimed a general strike, and attempted to seize power by this means. The attempt failed, and the Social Democrats, relieved of the Communist burden, settled down into a constitutional party.

Although the leaders of the parties had renounced their rights in a time of crisis, they had no desire to allow power to remain in the hands of the bureaucracy. In this they had the support of the President, who eagerly awaited the opportunity of forming a Government more in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. By September, 1921, the time was ripe, and a strong coalition had been formed among the non-Communist parties. A Government was formed, with Beneš combining the duties of Premier and Foreign Minister. In addition to the Parliamentary Ministers, two officials, holding the portfolios of Home Affairs and Finance, who had been members of the Government of Officials, took their places in the Cabinet. The President, though opposed on principle to government by officials, fully realized the need for each Department of State to be controlled by an expert, and, where such was not forthcoming from the ranks of the Parliamentarians, he did not hesitate to seek elsewhere.

The Beneš Government could count upon a

maximum of 180 votes, while the Opposition, consisting of the national minorities and the Communists, could not muster more than 105. It was therefore in a position to deal with the problems that came before it, such as the disturbance caused by the attempts of the ex-Emperor Charles and an epidemic of strikes in the spring of 1922. In the autumn of that year it was succeeded by a Cabinet in which Svehla was Prime Minister, but in which very few other changes were made. The most striking act of this Government was the stabilization of the currency.

The Svehla Government remained in power until 1925. By this time the coalition showed signs of disruption, owing to disputes between the Agrarians, of which party Svehla was the leader, and the Social Democrats. Shortly after this disagreement came to a head, an incident occurred which threatened to alienate the Clerical parties. The Government, headed by the President, attended the Huss celebrations, and the Papal Nuncio left the Prague as a protest. The result of this action on the part of the Vatican, by which an important section of the Czechoslovak people was greatly offended, was an outcry for the separation of Church and State. The President had always been in favour of this step, for he believed that the Church, being in-

dependent of the State, would be better able to perform its spiritual duties. He was, however, anxious that separation, if it were to take place, should not involve a struggle with the Vatican or internal dissension within the young Republic. Any step in such a direction would have alienated the Slovaks, the majority of whom are fervent Catholics. As things turned out, the issue degenerated into mere political agitation.

The results of the General Election of 1925 were such that no single party found itself in a position to form a Government. The Agrarians were in the strongest position, and Svehla was successful in forming a new coalition. This, however, was of short duration, for a renewed disagreement between the Agrarians and the Socialists led to the withdrawal from the Government of the latter party, and with the resignation of Svehla in March, 1926, the Government fell. It being again impossible to construct a working coalition, a second Cabinet of Officials was formed, under the leadership of Černy. The elections of 1925 had to some extent been a defeat for the Nationalist parties, both Czech and German. The result was a Fascist reaction, aimed against the democratic constitution of the Republic, and especially against the President and the Foreign Minister, Beneš, who were rightly

regarded as the principal representatives of Czechoslovak democracy. The Fascists adopted the cause of General Gajda, who had been commander of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia, and was consequently a very popular figure, but had fallen into disgrace as a result of serious charges brought against him. This Fascist movement, however, failed to find support in the country, and little more was heard of it.

By October, 1926, Svehla had recovered his health sufficiently to form a new Government, of which the most characteristic feature was the participation in it of two of the German parties, the Agrarians and the Christian Socialists. Later the Slovak Clericals, known as the Hlinka party, also announced their adhesion to the Government. During the life of this Government the President's period of office expired, but no candidate, except a Communist, who secured 54 votes out of 432, appeared to contest his re-election. The National Democrats, being still under the influence of Fascism, did not vote for him; but all the Socialists, even though they were in opposition to the existing Government, gave him their support. The results of his re-election were a proof that his enormous popularity among the people had in no way waned since the establishment of the Republic. It might have been an-

ticipated that the feverish enthusiasm which had greeted him during the fateful days of 1918 might have evaporated during the prosaic and disillusioned years of the reconstruction period, as was experienced by statesmen in other countries. But so firm a hold had Masaryk upon the minds of the people he had liberated, with such absolute trust and confidence was he regarded, not only by the Czechoslovaks themselves, but by the members of the national minorities, who saw in him their champion, that no reasonable man could contemplate his replacement at the Head of the State by any other individual.

In 1928 the Republic celebrated its tenth anniversary, which forms a convenient landmark at which to terminate this short and incomplete survey. On October 28th of that year, ten years after the bloodless revolution in Prague which marks the definite establishment of the Czechoslovak State, the President delivered a speech in which he reviewed the progress of the nation since its rebirth.[1] It was a speech of a statesman and a philosopher, couched in the language of a father who has watched with loving care over the destinies of his children. In a few words he outlined the results which had been accomplished.

[1] This speech has been published in English by the Orbis Company of Prague.

"We began with empty hands, without an army, without constitutional traditions, with a rapidly falling currency, in the midst of economic chaos and the universal decline of discipline, with the heritage of Dualism, with irredentism within our frontiers, and in the midst of States shaken by upheavals from the Right and from the Left; handicapped by small resources, unaccustomed to govern, little inclined to obey, and almost unknown to the world. And yet we have stood the test and acquitted ourselves with honour; we gave the restored State a Constitution, we organized the administration and the army; we faced the economic depression, the nationalist struggle, and the international conflicts. Our tasks were heavier than we admitted to ourselves; and yet we have built up a State which enjoys the confidence of foreign countries, and, what is still more important, of ourselves, of us all."

The President's gratification was due, not to the fact that it was his leadership which had enabled this great end to be realized, but to the proof it afforded that his confidence in the abilities of the Czech people had not been misplaced. Long ago he, almost alone, had declared them worthy of the liberty their forefathers had enjoyed, and had shown them, through his teachings and his philosophy, how to employ that liberty to the best effect. Now he was able to look upon the fruits of his labour and to rejoice in its excellence.

The whole of the President's speech on this momentous occasion was a recapitulation of the maxims which he had never ceased to lay down for the guidance of the nation. He told his hearers that the building up of a truly democratic Republic was an act of supreme faith, of faith in the omnipotence of right and justice, in the historical past and in the future. The State existed in order that they might seek to establish in it the best possible form of national life, that they might endeavour to attain the kingdom of God. Although they were often unaware of it, they were being led towards that goal by Providence.

But, if this end were to be attained, it could only be by perpetual striving, by learning from past mistakes. "He who forgets the lesson of unfortunate events will lose the opportunity of experiencing fortunate events." Masaryk was not the man to regard either the past or the future through rose-coloured spectacles. Mistakes had been made, and their effect had produced difficulties which must be solved in the future. Their solution lay in the proper understanding of Realism, of an ability to study facts and draw the correct conclusions from them. This had always been the President's own method, and he justified it in his usual down-right and fearless style.

"I have made good use of my four years abroad, and of my ten years in office as President; I have tested my theories, I have observed political personalities and conditions at home and abroad. I have estimated our capacities, and I have reflected upon how to distribute work most effectively. I have never hesitated according to need to give expressions to my views and their foundations and therefore I will say to-day what I consider to be right and necessary to the further development of the Republic. I know that the majority of people do not like to be roused from their political dreams by the indication of stern reality, but the successful development of States, nations and mankind is not controlled by wishes alone, but also by hard facts. A considerable field of activity is allotted to ideas and ideals; individuals and nations are to a great extent the creators of their own future, and it has before now been frequently and correctly said that in the long run it is the idealists who always win. Yet the victorious ideas and ideals are not born of fantasy and indifference to facts."

Later in his speech the President turned to the subject which had been the object of his most careful study, the composition of the ideal democracy, and developed his theories with special reference to the growth of the young Republic. The problem of democracy was to ensure the government of all by all, so that every citizen might be able to say, I also am the State. This was a repetition, in a somewhat different form, of words which Masaryk had used before: "A

work such as the people need presupposes and demands confidence in oneself. We are continually complaining that 'the people' have no confidence in themselves. Why blame everything upon 'the people'? The people is each one of us." The development of democracy dated only from the end of the eighteenth century, and consequently modern democracies were incompletely evolved and were really only attempts at democracy. They were therefore subject to criticism, which sometimes grew so strong as to lead to a return to absolutism, or to the creation of a dictatorship. Something of the kind had recently been mooted in Czechoslovakia (an allusion to the Fascist outbreak of 1926), but that this had ended in fiasco might be taken as a proof that the majority of Czechoslovaks no longer believed in absolutism or dictatorship.

Since democracy under the present-day conditions means the government of all by all, it follows that under these conditions of universal suffrage persons not specially trained—laymen, so to speak—enter Parliament and so the Government, for in a democracy a Parliament elected by the people is the source of all State power. The President made it clear that he was not in any way regretting this, since it was in the very essence of democracy. Not even monarchism and

the hereditary principle provided a guarantee of ability and expert knowledge. But in every form of State a condition of dual government existed, in which Parliament and the administration stood side by side and to some extent balancing one another. It was hence a vital problem for democracy to bridge over and harmonize this dual tendency, which was unavoidable, since the leadership and regulation of the State demanded political and administrative experts.

Turning to the special case of Czechoslovakia, the President expressed his own views upon the progress made in the solution of this particular problem.

"I am a convinced democrat, and I accept the inherent difficulties of democracy. There is no State formed without defects, and this is in the nature of things. Our difficulties arise from the high demands of democracy, which requires a body of citizens who are truly educated in the political sense, and an intelligent electorate, both men and women. Hence I am not in favour of government by experts or officials. It will not do any harm if I say that I have not been in principle in favour of a Ministry of Officials. I say this expressly in contradiction of those who, owing to ignorance of the matter, have made assertions to the contrary. Of course, we have already had two Cabinets of Officials. What does this signify? It means that for us the transition from monarchism to democracy is a difficult one, and that

democracy is truly a great task, a difficult problem. Problems, however, are solved by people who think and possess knowledge and are not merely elected. That is the crux of the matter!"

Another point to which the President directed the attention of his hearers was that, as regards legislation, the Republic was still in its infancy. The Constitution and the first laws were necessarily conceived, formulated and codified in haste; they consequently contained a fairly large number of inexplicit passages and even errors. Further, all laws were really only in skeleton form, and were intended to suit a particular period and set of conditions. It followed that there was on all sides a natural demand for laws to be supplemented, amended and revised. But it was a sound policy not to alter laws in a hurry and on the spur of the moment: time was required before they could be fairly judged. Let them not forget that even the best laws must remain a dead letter if there was no vital spirit and habit among the body of citizens.

"England is a special and unique example of this, for there we see a Parliamentary democracy with a monarch, a Constitutional country without a written Constitution, a legally governed country with a conglomerate of laws of all ages, including the most ancient times."

The closing sentences of this remarkable speech are worthy of quotation.

"Institutions are not enough for true democracy; it needs people who believe in the mission of their State and nation, people who are united by an idea. The technical training of officials and troops is not in itself sufficient for our democracy. Our democracy is the vital moral task not only of the officials and troops but of all the serious-minded men and women citizens, and, above all of their political representatives and leaders. Our democracy must guarantee and protect all cultural efforts in the technical and economic fields, and in the spheres of science, art, morality and religion. Therefore our democracy must be constant reform and constant revolution, but a revolution of heads and hearts."

This speech has been dealt upon at some length, both because it gives an insight into the mentality of the man to whom the re-creation of the State was primarily due, and because it can be regarded as his own unbiassed opinion upon an accomplishment for which the preparation of his people had been the principle object of his life.

CHAPTER XII

Eighty years have passed since an obscure birth, unnoticed outside the confines of the little town, took place at Hodonin in Moravia. And in the course of those eighty years the coachman's son, unaided by any advantages of birth, patronage, or wealth, has become the President of a State as prosperous and well-conducted as any in Europe. Nor does this statement express the whole of his achievement. It must be added that the State itself is the creation of his own brain.

One naturally asks, how did it happen, how was it that this man of obscure birth and parentage, whose natural destiny was to become a labourer or at most a small tradesman, raised himself so far above his environment as to become the acknowledged leader of his fellow-countrymen? The answer is to be found firstly in Masaryk's own character, and secondly in the influences to which he was subjected in the course of his life.

Dealing first with the latter. It was to his mother that he owed the impulse which drove him to the first steps towards anything like an adequate education. His father was a typical peasant, who

would have been perfectly content to see his children living the life which he himself had always known. He was an uncultured countryman, with no interests beyond the life of the fields and woods which bounded his horizon, and no understanding of life upon any higher intellectual plane. When, in years to come, he visited his son during his early years in Prague, the life of the city failed to attract him. He found, however, an absorbing interest in the matters which concerned his own profession of coachman: how the horses were shod, what new methods of construction had been applied to the carriages, whether the style of driving was that to which he had been accustomed. The dignified palaces of the Malá Strana, the quarter of the city in which his son lived, failed to impress him. But the porters who stood within their massive doorways were men after his own heart. In a very short time he got to know them all, and was admitted to the select fellowship of their club. But even this congenial society failed to reconcile him to life in the city. Within two or three days he was homesick, and refused to stay any longer. He craved for the countryside, his own village, the fireside which he knew.

Had Joseph Masaryk been the dominating influence in his son's childhood, the boy would have

been sent out into the fields to work and thus augment the family income. But the mother was of a more purposeful type. Her heart rebelled against the poverty and degradation that she saw about her, and she determined that her children —Thomas at least, the most promising—should be given the chance to rise above them. She had the wisdom, uncommon in her time, to see that education was the only path which would lead to opportunity. So, in spite of disappointments, of events which seemed to prove that her son's destiny was to become a toiler with his hands, she strove desperately to keep him at one school after another, until at last he was safely lodged at the University.

During his schooldays Masaryk was subjected to many influences, each of which produced its effect upon his subsequent career. The earliest of these were religion and the national feeling which he derived from contact with his fellow Czechoslovaks. Religion, not the mere exercise of religious forms, but true religion of the heart, became for him a necessity. He sought it first in the faith in which he had been brought up; then, finding this faith inadequate to his conceptions of the relations between God and man, he turned to the Protestantism which had been the guiding light of his forefathers. But he was never bigoted.

The form of faith which a man professed was nothing to him; he merely demanded that he should apply the moral precepts of religion to his daily life.

National consciousness, even in the crude and elementary form which he experienced at Brno, awoke in him his first conception of patriotism. He became aware that he was a Czechoslovak, a member of a nation which possessed as its principal heritage a glorious and tragic past. The gulf which separated Czech from German opened before him; he learned their differences in outlook, in aims, in culture, in philosophy. Gradually he became inspired with the idea that his mission was to bring their sense of nationality back to the Czech people, to save them from themselves, to awaken them from the supine attitude of negation in which they were content to live under the intellectual domination of the Germans.

These two influences, religion and patriotism, inspired his philosophy and teachings. But a still more powerful influence, that of his wife, urged him to renewed efforts when, time and again, it seemed as though his mission must fail of its purpose. In her he found his best friend and companion, a kindly critic, an energetic and capable collaborator. The traditions to which she had

been brought up in the great Western Republic, so different from those obtaining in Austria, helped him to form a true conception of liberty and democracy, drew for him a picture of a regenerated Czech nation. His marriage taught him the true conditions of family life, with its happiness and its difficulties, its strength and problems. He learnt to understand women, and the part that women must play in the modern State. Finally, in his wife and family he found an object for which to work, nearer and more precious than any mere intellectual ideal.

Such were the principal influences which acted upon Masaryk's career. To these must be added the influence of those who befriended him in his earlier days and helped him in his studies. Intellectually, his mind was open to influence by everything that he read. The great Czech writers of the past, the works of philosophers, ancient and modern, all these helped in the crystallization of his ideas and his doctrines. Extraordinarily receptive of impressions, with a perfect and exact memory, he had a natural gift for discriminating between the false and the true, and for assigning the latter its correct place in the scheme of affairs and of philosophy. It was one of his greatest gifts that, although at times he may have been misled by some false perception, his analyti-

cal power enabled him sooner or later to detect its unreality.

It is more difficult to define Masaryk's character than to enumerate the influences which were at various times brought to bear upon it. Undoubtedly his guiding principle is his unswerving devotion to truth, a devotion which implies for him no mere passive love, but an active and chivalrous campaign for its propagation. His whole life has been a struggle in the interests of truth and of reality. Over and over again his insistence upon the truth at all costs has brought him unpopularity, has even threatened him with ruin. The ridiculous incident of his boyhood, when his insistence upon the teaching of scientific facts brought down upon his head the disapproval of the peasant women of Čejkovice, displayed the indomitable courage with which he was again and again to defy public opinion by his assaults upon falsehood and unreality. His uncompromising attitude during the "affair of the manuscripts," the Polna Ritual Trial, the events in Croatia during the early years of the century; his refusal, since the inception of the Republic, to allow expediency to obscure the cause of truth, are all instances of his unswerving loyalty to everything that is right and just. And though at times it has seemed that this inflexible

standard would alienate from him popular sympathy, it is, in fact, this constant insistence upon truth that has made his achievements possible. However eminent Masaryk might have been as a teacher or as a political leader, he could never have gained the confidence of a whole people unless they had known, without fear of disappointment, that he would never lead them astray by adherence to false principles.

His love of truth led Masaryk naturally to his enunciation of the philosophy of realism, which was not to be a mere philosophy of the lecture-room, but a guiding principle by which his people should seek regeneration. The principle of realism lies in the search for facts, their disentanglement from the mass of false belief with which they are surrounded, and the subsequent formation of a scheme of action based upon these facts alone. It is in his strict adherence to realism, in its narrowest sense, that Masaryk differs from nearly every other statesman that the world has produced. He has never, in the whole course of his career, seized upon some popular fallacy, and used it either to his own advantage or to the advantage of his people. Even during the most difficult crises of the War, when the weapons of unscrupulous propaganda were freely used on every side, Masaryk, who might have reaped a

temporary and apparent advantage from a falsely coloured representation of the Czecho-slovak cause, refused to deviate a hair's-breadth from the facts, knowing that upon these alone could any lasting argument be based.

Next to his rigid devotion to the truth, perhaps the most striking of Masaryk's characteristics is his determination. A fighter by instinct, in the sense that he will never allow a false opinion to go unchallenged, or an injustice to be perpetrated without using his every endeavour to remedy it, he has always fought with the weapons of pure reason rather than with those of misrepresentation and abuse. Nor is he the man to plunge into a contest without a proper appreciation of the difficulties of the situation. Utterly fearless, mentally as well as physically, he does not permit his natural courage to lead him into rash and unconsidered action. If a problem exists, it exists to be solved, and the surest act of preparation for its solution is to examine it in all its bearings and state it scientifically and dispassionately. He has often been accused of exaggerating the difficulties of a situation, when, in fact, he has merely tabulated the points in it which must be overcome. Then, once he has gained a clear perception of the obstacles before him, he evolves his plan of campaign, and abides by it in

the face of temporary reverses until his final objective is attained.

These two characteristics, love of truth and determination to succeed, are ably seconded by a tireless energy. To most men, the summit of their career would seem to have been reached when they had secured the object which had been the work of their life, the liberation of their people. But Masaryk never for a moment considdered that his work was completed with the establishment of the Republic. In his eyes, his duty as the instructor of his people was to direct and guide them in the proper use of their regained liberty. He had no wish to become a dictator; such a position would have conflicted with the whole philosophy of democracy which he had so painstakingly evolved. From the very first moment, the people must learn to govern themselves, but it behoved him to keep a constant and watchful eye upon events, in order that he might be able to advise and to direct their government. It can truly be said that Masaryk, at the age of eighty, retains the office of President, not for his own aggrandizement, but for the benefit of his people.

It is impossible to remain for many minutes in his company without being impressed by the conviction that here is a remarkable, a very great

man. Not that there is any external grandeur about him; for he is a man of the simplest possible habits. At the first glance, one thinks rather of the professor than the statesman; the white beard and moustache, the pince-nez, a certain exactitude of verbal expression, suggest the teacher rather than the man of action. Of moderate height and wiry, without an ounce of superfluous flesh upon him and with the figure of a young man, he seems in his moments of repose frail and almost weary. But some chance word, the recollection of some apparently trivial incident, and the professorial air, the suggestion of weakness, vanish as if by magic, and suddenly one is confronted with the tireless fighter. For the first time, perhaps, one sees the awakening of the sleeping fire in his eyes, the apparently frail body becomes tense and rigid as a strip of steel, one realizes that the man before one is filled with an intense and throbbing vitality, that brain and muscle alike have lost nothing of their old swift energy. And, with his first few vivid words, one begins to understand the secret of his power over his fellow men.

Whatever subject may be under discussion, the President's characteristics immediately evince themselves. He prefers to sit in a chair drawn up by a table, with the objects upon which his

fingers perpetually toy during his conversation. Frequently, if asked a direct question, he will not reply for several seconds, until one begins to believe that he has not heard it. Meanwhile his hands are busy, perhaps tracing with a pencil the outline of a paper-weight upon the blotting-pad beneath it. It is not that he has not heard the question, but that his mind is busy with the ideas which it has engendered. Never, even upon the most trivial point, will he give a casual or conversational answer. A long habit of truth and of exactitude has made him consider the meaning of his words in their every bearing before he speaks. And when the answer does come, it is more often than not in a phrase that illuminates the subject as with a flood of concentrated light.

In addition to the hours which the President devotes to affairs of State and to conversation with his friends, he spends much of his time in studying modern literature. Since he is conversant with nearly every European language, he reads these books in the original, and reads them with the closest attention. The walls of the Presidential apartments in the Castle at Prague are lined with books, in all languages and of every type, from the most ephemeral novel to the most abstruse volumes upon science and philosophy. Every one of these books has at some

time or other been read, with a thoroughness proportionate to their worth. In most of them are marginal notes in the President's firm handwriting, or perhaps a sentence or two on the flyleaf, conveying his impression of their contents. It seems a miracle that he should find time for such studies. But the President is a man who, while working swiftly, is never hurried. He applies method to everything which he undertakes, and the result is the accomplishment of a phenomenal amount of work in the time at his disposal.

In consequence of the extraordinary range of his studies, the President is without question the best-informed man in Europe. It is sufficient to mention any subject, no matter how recondite or how trivial, and he will betray a keen grasp of it and an interest which is not by any means assumed. He has the gift for turning the conversation into the channel best suited to his companion of the moment, discussing fiction with the novelist, the progress of modern knowledge with the scientist, the tendencies of art with the artist. An experienced psychologist, he studies his companion with meticulous care, classifying him according to a system of his own. His judgment of human beings and of their motives is unfailing.

Of the past the President is always ready to

speak. He has probably never known a moment of boredom in his life, and the events and experiences of his eighty long years fill his memory with vivid distinctness. He will dwell at length upon the problems which have from time to time confronted him, upon the conditions which existed at one or other of the crises of his life, and will depict them in all their detail and with startling clarity. But upon his own achievements, his own triumphs, he is silent. Nor will he speak in disparaging terms of the adversaries he has encountered or of the men who have opposed him. In his view, every man is entitled to his own opinion, and, in default of convincing proof to the contrary, he credits those who differ from him with motives as honest as his own. He speaks in the simplest language, but one receives the impression that it is his masterly intellectual grip of the subject in question that enables him to dispense with complex phraseology.

He is naturally, from his deep study of the subject, greatly interested in the course of events in Russia. He was in that country upon the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution, and, though all the time he was in considerable danger, having several narrow escapes from death, he took considerable pains to study the mentality of the protagonists at first hand. That he should have

been able to do so, at a time when his mind was fully occupied with anxieties concerning the fate of the Czechoslovak Legionaries, shows his extraordinary capacity for acquiring knowledge even under the most adverse circumstances. His explanation of the success of Bolshevism among the Russian peasants, who, he maintains, are far from being Bolshevist at heart, is particularly interesting. According to him, the Russian peasants, in their present state of development, possess a mentality which demands absolute rule in some form or another. They are unable to contemplate any other rule than that of an autocrat, but are completely indifferent as to that autocrat's identity. Let his name be Peter, Paul, Alexander or Lenin, it is all the same to them. Bolshevism, with its rigid control of the individual, is to them practically indistinguishable from Tsarism, and for that reason they accept it blindly.

The President tells some characteristic anecdotes of the mentality of the peasants. During the chaos of the Revolution, a party of peasants from some remote village boarded a train and gutted the carriages, carrying off even the panes of glass from the windows. However, coming under the influence of a Communist orator, they solemnly broke up the panes, which they had in-

tended for the windows of their own cottages, and divided the pieces equally among the community. On another occasion, Masaryk was himself travelling in a train, and saw a party of third-class travellers removing the leather from the seats. He explained to them that the costs of its replacement would eventually have to be borne by the community at large, and they, appreciating his argument, desisted from their work of destruction. This little incident throws a remarkable light upon the President's influence over all sorts and conditions of men.

During the greater part of the year, the President divides his time between his official residence in the Castle at Prague, and the Chateau of Lany, which was presented to him by the nation. Here he is accessible to the various Ministers of State, with whom he maintains the closest possible touch, and to all others who have business with him. His apartments in the Castle are very simply decorated and furnished, their principal feature being the books with which they are lined. State business he conducts in his study, a large and airy room, in one corner of which stands a battered and shabby desk of cheap wood, an interesting relic of his days as a Professor at the University. Here he gives audiences, receives reports, composes speeches, and so forth. But such

time as he can spare from his official business he spends in his bedroom next door, where, at a plain and unencumbered table, he labours at the completion of one or more of his unfinished books. Standing in these apartments, one perceives very clearly that the scholar, the thinker, remains entirely unruffled by his manifold Presidential duties.

But, to see the President in the surroundings that he loves best, it is necessary to visit him in his summer residence. A countryman born, the life of the country appeals to him far more than the bustle of the town. At Topolčianky, a remote village in Slovakia, 250 miles in a direct line from Prague, and very much more than that by rail or road, stands an estate, consisting mostly of forest land, which formerly belonged to the Archduke Joseph. The estate has been taken over and is administered by the Czechoslovak Government, but the chateau and park are in the occupation of the President. Here he leads the simple life which most appeals to him, surrounded by the members of his own family or by privileged guests. He rises early, and with his secretaries attends to such business as has been referred to him. Then he will either walk or ride with his guests for an hour or so. Riding is his passion; he loves nothing more than to canter

over the turf that carpets the forest glades. He has a magnificent seat on a horse; dressed in riding breeches, a close-fitting tunic and a peaked cap, he is the picture of a Slovak gentleman supervising his estates. Lunch is served, if the weather permits, under a fine group of chestnut trees. This is practically the only meal which the President eats in the course of the day. Although he himself drinks no wine and does not smoke, he encourages his guests to please themselves in these respects. In this, as in everything else, he is not the least bigoted. He explains that although in his earlier days he both drank and smoked—he recalls the fact that he began in his early youth with country beer and brown-paper cigars—he finds now that he is better without these indulgences.

Lunch over, the President retires once more to his study, where he completes the business of the day. Then once more he comes out into the fresh air which he loves, perhaps to drive behind a pair of horses through the forest clearings, or to join his guests, who rarely number more than three or four at a time, in a picnic at some romantic spot among the Slovak hills, from which the rising slopes of the Carpathians can be seen spreading away in the distance towards the Tatra, of which the most majestic peak bears the President's

name. He is keenly interested in the wild life of the district, and will point out the spot where he last saw a wild boar, or the corner of the forest where a glimpse of the shy deer may sometimes be caught. He is more than ever the countryman, at home in his own countryside.

Supper is a very light meal of two or three courses, and usually the President contents himself with a cup of milk only. The hours between supper and bedtime he devotes to conversation, and he retires early, between nine and ten o'clock. Into this calm and unhurried day he contrives to fit his multifarious duties, and also to read and study far more than the average leisured man is able to accomplish. The octogenarian, lithe and active in the saddle, has a brain still thirsting for the stimulating wine of human knowledge.

The President's family is now reduced to three. Mrs. Masaryk died in 1923, and of his four children only three remain. Herbert, as has been related, died at the beginning of the War. Of the survivors Jan is now Czechoslovak Minister in London, and Olga, who accompanied him throughout his pilgrimage during the War, is now Madam Ravillaud. Only Alice, who remained in Bohemia by the side of her mother during the War years, and did not escape im-

prisonment for her share in the activities of the Maffia, is still with her father.

One final picture. The President stands on the balcony of the Castle at Prague, upright and alert, while the members of the various gymnastic societies, Czech and German, march past him in orderly array. Each detachment salutes him as it passes, greeting him in its own language, while above the President's head are fixed the arms of the Republic which he has re-created, with the motto which so completely expresses his faith:

PRAVDA VITEZI, Truth will Prevail.

And from the packed square below comes the deep, inspiring shout of homage of the Sokols, of the whole Czechoslovak people: "Na zdar, tatiček!"

We too, respectfully and admiringly, may echo this cry, and wish "Success!" to one of the greatest and noblest men that the century has produced.

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